

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 6.

TWO REMINISCENCES OF CHILDREN'S RHYMES IN GOETHE'S *Faust I*.

I. *Werke* 14, 109.

Trauben trägt der Weinstock!
Hörner der Ziegenbock; etc.

Loeper was the first to point out, in his edition of *Faust*, p. 99, that these lines were taken from a *Kniedchen* recorded by Simrock in *Das deutsche Kinderbuch* (3rd. ed., p. 41):

Tross tross trülle,
Der Bauer hat ein Fülle,
Reben trägt der Weinstock,
Hörner hat der Ziegenbock, etc.

Loeper also called attention to a *Kinderpredigt* containing a similar passage (*ib.*, p. 85):

Hört zu, meine Herren,
Aepfel sin kein Berren,
Zwei Reben hat der Weinstock,
Ein Kalb ist kein Ziegenbock, etc.

While Simrock does not state his authorities, or the localities where he found these poems, Otto Heilig,¹ *ZfddU.* 6, 497, gives a High-German version of the same rhyme as sung in Langenbrücken near Bruchsal (Baden):

Hoss, Hoss, Trill,
Der Bauer hat ein Füll,
Reben giebt der Weinstock,
Hörner hat der Ziegenbock, etc.

and refers to it as a "*Kinderpredigt* (!), . . . die in ganz Mitteldeutschland von den Kindern hergeleiert wird" and "*an der sich heute noch die Frankfurter Kinder vergnügen*." If this last statement is correct, we can only wonder why Heilig did not take the trouble of ascertaining

¹ Heilig includes among his references also Simrock, *Das deutsche Liederbuch* (!), without giving credit to Loeper.

and publishing the version current at Frankfurt. However, he speaks very positively and was in all probability reliably informed; and even if Goethe was not familiar from his childhood with the lines he reproduced in his *Faust*, he had ample opportunity to become acquainted with them at Leipzig; they were heard in the neighborhood of that city by Drosihn (*Deutsche Kinderreime*, no. 373), with only slight verbal deviations from the versions quoted by Simrock and Heilig:

Reben hat der Weinstock,
Hörner hat der Ziegenbock, etc.

Loeper's conjecture (*l. c.*) that Goethe, in the lines in question, thought of the *Ziegenbock* "*als Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit*," and Minor's addition to it (Goethe's *Faust*, 1. 123) "*und als eine der Lieblingsgestalten des Teufels*," are far-fetched and wholly uncalled for. The fact that the goat has horns has nothing to do with *Fruchtbarkeit*, nor does the statement of this fact here in any way suggest the satanic nature of Mephistopheles; we may as well admit that the *Ziegenbock* line is, in this connection, simply irrelevant. The parallelism which Goethe contrived (if indeed he did not find it in his source) between the two lines by the use of the same verb in both, does not extend beyond the mere wording; the verb is used in different senses. Minor's words (*l. c.*) "*So wie der Bock Hörner trägt, so trägt der Weinstock Trauben*" are doubtless intended only to point out the combination of "*Sinn und Unsinn*" found in these magic formulas. The absence of continuity of thought, of logical coherence, is one of the main characteristics of the kind of popular rhyme here copied by Goethe. Both the *Kniedchen* and the *Kinderpredigt* referred to are so-called *Kettenreime*, in which a number of mostly commonplace, self-evident statements, each expressed in two forms differing, as a rule, only in the order of the words, are strung together by means of the rhyme. Thus the rhyme-word *Bauer* suggested the line

Das Leben wird ihm *sauer* ;
 the variation :
 Sauer wird ihm das *Leben*,
 suggested
 Der Weinstock der trägt *Reben*,
 and the variation :
 Reben trägt der Weinstock,
 suggested
 Hörner hat der *Ziegenbock*, etc.

The introduction of the *Ziegenbock* is due solely to the need of a rhyme with the preceding line, exactly as is the case, for instance, in the *Abzählreim* (Drosihn, 99):

Eins, zwei, drei, vier, fünf, sechs, sieben,
 Meine Mutter die kocht Klieben,
 Mein Vater macht den Rock,
 Du verdammt Ziegenbock.

or in the *Kinderpredigt* referred to by Loeper, where in the lines

Ein Kalb ist kein Ziegenbock,
 Ein Ziegenbock ist kein Kalb,

the *Kalb* is brought in solely for the sake of the rhyme with the line which at this place invariably follows :

Nu ist meine Predigt halb.

The situation in *Auerbachs Keller* naturally suggested the *Reben* and the *Weinstock*, and these brought to Goethe's mind the old jingle ; it offered a rhyme for *Weinstock*, and the irrelevance of the *Ziegenbock* line (coupled with the parallelism above referred to), so far from being objectionable, added a welcome element of mystery. There is no need for interpreting into the *Ziegenbock* a significance which it did not possess in Goethe's source.

II. The *Hexen-Einmal-Eins*, *Werke* 14, 124.

Some of the lines in the rhymed appendix to the *Zauberbuch* published at Frankfurt in 1756 under the title *Alchimistisch Sieben-Gestirn*, etc., (see A. Tille, *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, xv, 257), remind us indeed quite strongly of certain passages in Goethe's *Hexenküche*, and incline us at first to Tille's belief that they influenced the poetic form of the passages in question. When we analyze this impression, we find that it rests upon three points of agreement : 1. the identity of the metre ; 2. the identity of a few rhyme-words, namely, *gleich : reich* (occurring once in the *Zauberbuch*

and twice in the *Hexenküche*) and *Kraft : -schaft* (Z. : *Eigenschaft*, H. : *Wissenschaft*) ; 3. the reference, in the *Zauberbuch*, to rejuvenation (here, however, as one of a number of benefits to be derived from the possession of the philosophers' stone !):

Denn seine Tugend
 Erhält die Jugend,
 Die grauen Haar
 Ausfallen gar.

The place and date of publication of the *Zauberbuch* seem likewise to favor Tille's view. But upon closer scrutiny we perceive that none of these points furnishes even presumptive evidence of any considerable weight. The occasional use of short lines of two feet in a poem of such multifarious metrical structure as Goethe's *Faust* requires no explanation whatever ; moreover, Goethe employed this metre extensively in various connections,—in such purely lyrical moods, for instance, as those of the *Mailed* and of *Meine Ruh ist hin*,—long before he chose it for the hocus-pocus of the *Hexenküche*. As to the rhymes in question, they are too few in number and altogether too obvious to warrant us in attributing their use by Goethe to reminiscences of reading done from thirteen to nineteen years earlier ; for if he read the *Zauberbuch* at all, it was probably during his convalescence in 1769, certainly not later than 1775. With the supposed virtues of the philosophers' stone, finally, Goethe was thoroughly familiar from his study of Welling's *Opus*, his first introduction to alchemy ; the idea of the rejuvenation of Faust, however, came to him neither from Welling nor from the *Zauberbuch*, but originated in his own mind as a result of the evolution of his Faust-conception ; besides, the means by which he rejuvenates his Faust have nothing at all to do with alchemy or the philosophers' stone and do not even remotely suggest any knowledge or thought of the *Zauberbuch* ; and even if it were certain that he knew this book, it would still be improbable that a lot of doggerels so devoid both of poetic merit and of novelty in subject-matter should have made upon him a lasting impression.

It is the combination of several coincidences insignificant in themselves that lends a semblance of plausibility to Tille's theory ; and after all, that theory affords no explanation for the most

characteristic feature of the *Hexen-Einmal-Eins*, the only one that would seem to point to some extraneous source: the use of the numbers.

This feature was in all probability suggested to Goethe by a counting-out rhyme (*Abzählreim*) known to him from his childhood²—one of those rhymes by which children the world over determine who shall be "it." Compare, for instance, the very ancient one given by Rochholz, *Alemanisches Kinderlied und Kinderspiel aus der Schweiz*, no. 228, with its interesting mythological background (Grimm, *Mythologie*, 1210):

Eine, zwo,
git e Floh,
drü, vier,
git e Stier,
feuf, sechs,
git e Hex,
sieben, acht,
git e Chatz,
nün, zeh,
git e Chräh,
oelf, zwölf,
git es Chrätteli volle Wölf.

Here we have, moreover, the same short lines of two beats as in the *Hexen-Einmal-Eins*, and the same rhyme *sechs: Hex*,—a very obvious one, to be sure, and in itself, like the identity of the metre, no more conclusive than the corresponding features in Tille's argument,—but unquestionably of corroborative force when superadded to the important agreement in the use of the numbers; and it is to be noted that the identity of form is not, as in the case of the *Zauberbuch*, confined to the metre, but extends to the general structure of the *Abzählreim* and the *Hexen-Einmal-Eins*, both consisting of a number of short lines followed by one of double length.

Rhymes of this sort are as widely known and used as they are ancient. Bolton, *The Counting-out Rhymes of Children*, p. 74, gives variants from a number of places in Germany, as well as

an English one (p. 92) used in Wrentham, Mass., as early as 1730; Drosihn found in Pommerania the following variant:

Eins, zwei,
Polizei,
Drei, vier,
Offizier,
Fünf, sechs,
Alte Hex,
Funfzen, sechzen,
Du musst hexen,

(and so on to *zwanzig*, the whole closing again with longer lines, three of three beats and two of four). Other variants are attested for the East by Peter, *Volkstümliches aus Österreichisch-Schlesien*, I, pp. 18 and 146, for the West by de la Fontaine, *Die Luxemburger Kinderreime*, p. 35.³ We have every reason to suppose that such rhymes were in vogue in Frankfurt, too, long before Goethe's day.

In casting about for some kind of "*dramatisch-humoristischen Unsinn*" (in which phrase, as recorded by Falk, Goethe doubtless included the *Hexen-Einmal-Eins* as well as the *Katzengespräche*), Goethe, prompted, perhaps, by the word *Hex* (: *sechs*), bethought him of a rhyme of his childhood days, just as he did in the similar case of the *Weinzauber* in *Auerbachs Keller*. He got from it the idea of the *Einmal-Eins*; but the use made of the numbers in the *Abzählreim*, whether but seemingly meaningless, as in Rochholz's version, or actually so, as in the empty jingle of Drosihn's variant, did not furnish him with the "*vollkommene Widersprüche*" needed for the purpose of mystification; so he recast the whole in the form which has ever since, in very truth, proven "*gleich geheimnisvoll für Kluge wie für Thoren*."

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²Minor, *l. c.*, p. 331, thinks that there are in the *Hexen-Einmal-Eins* "*Anklänge . . . an volkstümliche Sprüche, die Goethe erst in Italien kennen lernte*"; meaning thereby parts of two *Sprüche* quoted by Goethe (*Briefe*, 8, 350) in forms modified by him to fit certain situations of which he speaks. But these rhymes have nothing in common with their alleged imitation except the metre of a part of their lines.

³For further references see Drosihn, p. 103; compare also *ib.*, nos. 251, 252, 253, and Simrock, *l. c.*, nos. 859 and 1020 (*sechse: Hexe*).

CLASSICAL NAMES AND STORIES IN THE *Bēowulf* (continued).

IV.

The origins of the names of peoples are often shrouded in mystery, and such is the case with the name *Danes*, *Denmark*. Bugge's article, 'Om Folkenavnet Daner,'¹ is the standard one on the subject, and here the author expressly states that he desires his proposed explanation to be considered merely as a guess. After having reviewed the opinions of others concerning the origin and meaning of the name, he suggests that it may be connected with Irish *duine*, *dune*, 'man,' which is derived from **donios* and cognate with OE. *denu*, 'valley,' *denn*, 'cave, den.' *Danir* = OE. *Dene* (< **Dani*-) may, therefore, mean 'valedwellers, those that belong to the soil or are born in the land.' Its use may at first have been appellative to distinguish natives from foreigners, cf. *Deutsch*, the language of the people as opposed to Latin. In the closing paragraph of his article, Bugge says: 'Even the linguistic character of the name *Danes* shows that the origin of this name belongs to a time long, long—I may confidently say, 1000 years—before we first find it recorded.'

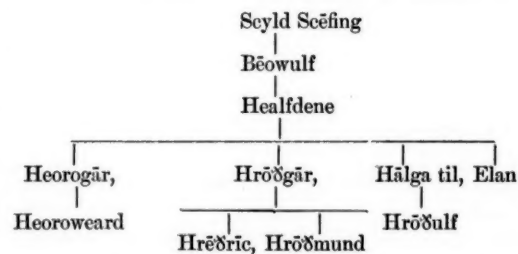
And when does the name first occur? In the sixth century, in the works of Procopius and Jordanes. It is remarkable that the name should not be found recorded before this time, since many neighboring peoples are mentioned several hundred years earlier (Cimbri, Charudi, Gauti, Swiones, etc.) But this may have been due to accident or to the possible restriction of the name *Danes* to a small tribe in the first centuries of the Christian era. The use of the name as embracing a number of related peoples dwelling in Southern Sweden, Jutland, Zealand, and other islands (cf. *Δανῶν τὰ ἔθνη*, Procopius, *B. G.*, II, 15), need not be much older than 500 A. D., and it may have been in a restricted use say 500 B. C., as Bugge suggests, although it is difficult to see any linguistic reason for such an estimate. If Bugge's conjecture concerning the etymological identity of the word be correct, it must indeed be a very old

word, but how is it possible to ascertain when its alleged appellative use first began?

The Mediaeval notion (e. g. of Dudo) that the Danes owe their name as well as their origin to the Danai, the Greeks, had, of course, no other foundation than the evident similarity between the names *Danai* and *Dani*. Migration legends were common enough in Europe during the Middle Ages.² No modern scholar has considered it possible that the name *Danes* could have been borrowed from the Greek name *Danai* (Δαναοί). The idea seems so absurd that it probably has never been considered for a moment by any one. The corruption of the difficult form *Danai* to a simpler form **DaniR*(z) would seem to be natural enough provided a reason could be shown to exist for the borrowing of the name in any form. Such a reason would have to be in the nature of evidence showing the existence of a strongly developed migration-legend, or legend akin to this, in Denmark already some time before 500 A. D., a date not much earlier than the first mentions of the name *Danes*. It would have to be shown that the Danes had early identified themselves with the Greeks and that the delusion was so widespread and so deeply rooted that it could have led to the adoption of the name *Danai*, Prim. Dan. **DaniR*.

But I shall revert to this subject later, it being my present purpose merely to call attention to the unsolved problem of the origin of the name *Danes* and to its obvious similarity to the name *Danai*. I shall now discuss the Danish genealogy of *Bēowulf* and Scandinavian sources, and shall try to show that it is largely of Classical origin.

In the *Bēowulf* the genealogy is as follows:



The name or eponym *Scēfing* is by some scholars interpreted as 'son of Scēaf,' but others hold that

¹ *Arkiv f. nord. Filologi*, vol. v, pp. 125-131; cf. vol. vi, p. 236.

² Cf. Bugge, *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*, p. 161 f.

it describes Scyld as the king 'with the sheaf' ("Scyld mit der garbe"—a sort of Triptolemus of the North), and that the Scēaf who in other English sources is represented to be the father of Scyld, owes his origin to an incorrect interpretation of the suffix *-ing*, *-ung*, this being dubious in meaning. The name *Bēowulf* is in this place usually held to be mistake for *Bēow* (*Bēaw*, *Bēawa*), for such is the form of the name in other sources.

Since this genealogy is a Danish one and of Danish origin, the question naturally arises whether it is here preserved in an originally Danish form, or whether it has received additions or suffered changes during the centuries that may have elapsed since its first arrival in England and the time of the composition of the *Bēowulf* in the form in which we now have this poem. It is the oldest extant source of the Scylding genealogy and it is natural to infer that the genealogy has here been preserved in a form much older than any of those found in the later Scandinavian sources. How much it was modified in England we do not know with certainty, but by a comparison of all the forms of the genealogy in English and Scandinavian sources it is possible, at least in part, to ascertain its original form. Neither Scēaf nor Bēaw occurs in any Scandinavian source (at least not in clearly equivalent or corresponding forms) and the conclusion lies near that these names are English additions to the genealogy. I do not, however, consider this to be entirely certain, but a full discussion of Scēaf and Bēaw would involve the taking up of so much material that I cannot adequately consider them here.

Since it cannot be proved that Scēaf and Bēaw represent figures in an old Danish prototype of the Scylding genealogy, I shall chiefly confine myself to a discussion of those names which are common to the chief sources.

At this point it would have been proper to cite the opinions of modern scholars on the reliability of the *Bēowulf* as a historical source—the marvelous deeds assigned to the hero Bēowulf being, of course, excluded from consideration. It is generally believed that Healfdene, Hrōðgār, Hālga, and Hrōðulf (Hrólfr kraki) are the names of actual, not mythical kings, and that the period

in which they lived embraced the second half of the fifth, and the first half of the sixth century of our era. From the accuracy with which the *Bēowulf* speaks of Hygelāc's (Chochilaicus) fatal expedition to the land of the Hetware (Chatuarii), as we read about this in Gregory of Tours, the general accuracy of the poem with respect to details concerning the early Danish kings is considered to be established as a great probability.

The existence of a widely cultivated and greatly developed epic poetry concerning the Scylding kings might seem to be best explained by the assumption that there really was a great historical period corresponding in the main to that described with such great verisimilitude, and worthy of being made the subject of poetic treatment. The descriptions, characterizations, and localizations of persons and events have all the appearance of corresponding to reality. This does not, however, necessarily imply historical truth, but surely poetic truth, and is primarily evidence of a high literary art. With the single exception already mentioned no name or event mentioned in the *Bēowulf* is found in what are commonly recognized as historical sources. Of the Scylding kings we know nothing that can be surely distinguished as coming from other than some poetic source.³

In the form of the genealogy recorded in the *Bēowulf* there is especially one feature which should long ago have been made the starting-point for testing its genuineness as a historical source. For the sake of convenience, however, I shall, as far as possible, discuss the names of the Danish kings in their chronological order, leaving this feature to be discussed in its turn. I need hardly say that all foreign names do not crop out with equal clearness, but it is equally clear that the names must be considered as a group as well as individually, and that no conclusion with

³The famous battle on the Brávellir in Sweden may here be mentioned as an interesting example of pseudo-history. Cf. Jessen, *Undersøgelser til nordisk Oldhistorie*, København, 1862, p. 35: "Concerning this battle we know nothing more or nothing less than the fact that there was a song about it"; and p. 77: "The Braavalla-battle concerns neither history nor ethnography. Its date is not to be determined." With this conclusion is now to be compared Bugge's 'Norsk Sagafortælling og Sagaskrivning i Irland' in (norsk) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 1901, 1. Hefte, p. 78—2. Hefte, 1903, p. 156.

respect to individual names has been adequately judged unless it be considered in the light of the whole material.

The "mythical" character of Scyld is universally granted, but it remains to be seen whether he is of native Danish or of foreign origin. I believe that the name *Scyld* (*Skjold*) may very well be a translation of the name *Argus*. According to Greek legends, Argus was the third king of Argos in Greece, but he became the founder of a new dynasty. From him the Greeks are said to have been called *Argivi* (*Ἀργεῖοι*), 'Argives,' a name which was used by Homer side by side with the name *Danai* (*Δαναοί*), 'Danaans.' The translation of the name *Argus* as *Scyld*, 'shield, protector, guardian,' could easily be accounted for as due to a mingling of the Argus legend with that of Argus Panoptes, the 'all-seeing Argus,' who had a hundred eyes, and who was by Juno appointed guardian⁴ of Io, whom she had metamorphosed into a cow. Even to-day an Argus means a 'sharp-eyed, watchful person, a guardian,'⁵ and there are numerous newspapers bearing the name *Argus*, 'shielder or guardian of public interests.' The dog of Odysseus was also most fittingly named *Argus*. From a Mediæval point of view I can find no fault with the translation of *Argus* as 'shield.' The real etymological meaning of the word need not concern us.

That *Scyld* is a translation of *Argus* (*custos*) may not seem to be very obvious, and I am well aware that it is not, by itself considered, very probable. But if *Scyld* belongs to the group of names which follow, then I can find no other explanation for his name. If the group of names which follow have an origin independent of that of *Scyld* the case is different, but everything points to the original unity of the "Scylding" kings as a group.

The next name in the genealogy, passing over *Bēaw*, is *Healfdene*, a curious and rare name beginning with the element 'half.'⁶ Bugge⁷ supposes that this name must have originated from the name of a people not Danes in the full

sense of the word, but "Half-Danes," and he supports this conjecture by a reference to *Bēowulf* 1070, where the form *Healf-Dena*, gen. pl., occurs. But this reading is not absolutely certain, and editors have emended it to *Healfdenes*, there being nowhere in literature, either in English or in Scandinavian, any reference to a people called "Half-Danes." The scribe could here most easily have made a slip. He had written the nom. pl. and gen. pl. forms *Dene*, *Dena*, so often that the latter might in an unguarded moment be substituted for the apparently anomalous form (*Healf*)*denes*, the form *Dene*, although historically both singular and plural, never being employed in the singular in the *Bēowulf*. He has very naturally been controlled by his habit of thinking about *Dene*, *Dena*, as plural forms. There is, therefore, no certain example of a word **Healf-Dene* as the name of a people from which a sg. *Healfdene* might have been derived, although such a process is within the bounds of possibility. A similar explanation of the name might perhaps just as well be sought in an assumption that *Healfdene's* mother may have been a foreign woman⁸ and that he was therefore a "half-Dane," but such a method of naming a child does not seem either attractive or obvious.

There is still another possible way in which the name *Healfdene* may have originated. It may be, and I think that it very probably is, a translation of the name *Diomedes Argivus*⁹ or *Diomedes Graius*,¹⁰ possibly of *Diomedes Danaus*, each of these names meaning 'the Greek or Danaan Diomedes,' one of the greatest heroes of the Greeks before Troy and King of Argos, not, indeed, as the successor of Argus in any genealogy with which I am familiar, but of Adrastus. The translator has connected the name *Diomedes* with the Latin adjective *dimidius*, 'half,' an etymology which is really a splendid one when compared with the many ridiculous and monstrous etymologies with which Mediæval books on grammar are filled, for there is actually great likeness between *Diomedes* and *dimidius*. The translation of *Argivus*, *Graius*, or *Danaus*, as 'Dene' would

⁴ *Junoneus custos* is a frequent epithet of Argus.

⁵ Cf. *Standard Dictionary*, s. v. *Argus*.

⁶ Cf. OHG. *Halbdurinc*, *Halbwalah*; Müllenhoff, *Beowulf*, p. 24.

⁷ *Beitr.*, vol. XII, p. 29.

⁸ Cf. the name *Wealhðēow*, Hrōðgār's queen, which suggests that she was a 'foreigner.'

⁹ Livy, Bk. xxv, xii.

¹⁰ Cf. *Graio Diomede*, Sil. Ital., *Punic. Lib.*, ix, 63.

naturally arise from an interpretation of these words as equivalent to 'Danish,' cf. *Scyldingas* = *Dene* in the *Bēowulf*.

There is one matter in connection with the name *Healfdene* which seems to corroborate the explanation I have offered. In *Bēowulf*, 57, he is called *hēah Healfdene*, 'the lofty or noble Healfdene,' and in the ON. *Hyndluljóð*, 14, 4, *Halfdanr* is described as *hæstr Skjoldunga*, 'highest of the Scyldings.' The epithet *hēah*, *hæstr*, is surely an old one and does not belong to Healfdene in these two widely separated poems by a mere accident. In an alliterative poetry it is of course difficult to determine whether the epithet *hēah* is due to a foreign material or to a native impulse, but it is at least worthy of note that *hēah Healfdene* corresponds with remarkable exactness to Greek *ὑπέρθυμος Διομήδης*, 'the high-hearted Diomedes,' an epithet which could be represented in Latin epic poetry by the frequent epic epithet *altus*,¹¹ 'high.'

It is still possible further, and I believe more definitely, to confirm the Classical origin of the name *Healfdene*, and this may be done with material found in the *Widsið*. In this poem, l. 23, we read: *Mearchealf [wēold] Hundingum*. The name *Mearchealf* has been a puzzling one since it seems meaningless to assume that the two elements of this name can be identical with *meare*,¹² 'boundary, (boundary-) district,' and *healf*, 'half.' And the editors and commentators have naturally struggled hard to set aside the written word and to substitute *Mearcealf*, *Mearcwulf*, *Marculf*.¹³ Fortunately, the word *Mearchealf*,

absurd as it may seem to be and really is, is preserved in its original form in the *Widsið* and it is, therefore, possible clearly to recognize its source. Its originator has obtained some information on ancient history and geography. He has heard what was no doubt originally intended to convey the information that *Cannæ* or *Canusium* was situated in the *Campus Diomedis*,¹⁴ and he has received this in, or misconstrued it into, the form that a king or prince *Campus Diomedis* ruled over the people of *Cannæ* or *Canusium*. *Campus Diomedis* has been rendered with the same fidelity which characterizes the translation of *Diomedes Argivus* as '*Healfdene*': *Campus* = '*meare*,' *Diomedis* = *dimidius* = '*healf*'; hence '*Mearchealf*,' a word which by its very absurdity is proved to be a literal translation of a foreign name. As an example of a translation *Mearchealf* is thus especially reliable, and its reliability is further enhanced by the fact that it occurs in connection with *Hundingas*—which is surely a translation reproducing the *Cannæ* or *Canusium*, which occurs in connection with a *Campus Diomedis*. Either of these names would most naturally be connected with *canis*, 'hound, dog,' and the people of *Cannæ* or *Canusium* would thus reasonably be called *Hundingas*, cf. *hund*, 'canis, dog.' The occurrence of *Mearchealf* and *Hundingas* on the one hand, and of *Campus Diomedis* and *Cannæ*, *Canusium*, on the other, is surely not an accidental grouping, and the possibility of error in regard to the dependence of the former upon the latter would seem to be eliminated in a case like this.

But now we have arrived at a point in the Danish genealogy where its Classical origin may be most clearly demonstrated by means of evidence drawn from a group of names closely associated, and the clearness with which this may be done can not easily be ignored in its bearing on the names already considered. *Healfdene*—*Diomedes* the Greek—has four children, *Heorogār*, *Hrōðgār*, *Hālga* the Good, and a daughter whose name has been very much in doubt. The passage is as follows (59 ff.):

¹⁴Cf. Livy, Bk. xxv, xii: priore carmine Cannensis prædicta clades in hæc fere verba erat: "annem Troiugena Romane fuge Cannam, ne te alienigenæ cogant in campo Diomedis conserere manus . . ." et Diomedis Argivi campos et Cannam flumen, etc.

¹¹See Carter's *Epitheta deorum* in Roscher's *Lexicon*; *altus* is used with the names *Hercules*, *Jason*, *Orestes*, *Jupiter*, etc.

¹²Cf. OS. *marka*, 'district,' ON. *mork*, 'forest, uncultivated field,' Norw. dial. *mark*, 'field,' *mork*, 'wooded district'; etc.

¹³Cf. Grein-Wülker, I, p. 2; Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 181 (orig. ed., p. 171): "Can this *Mearchealf* be the same as *Marculf*?" . . . (p. 182) "If *Mearchealf* is the same as *Marculf*, then the author of *Widsið* thought of the *Hundingas* as a people far in the east. By the *Hundingas* were doubtless originally meant those who were unbelievers in Christianity; for 'a heathen hound' is an expression common among Germanic peoples." (*Marculf* = the Jewish idol *Marcolis*, hence his rôle as an opponent of Solomon, cf. Notker and the OE. poem *Solomon and Saturn* of the ninth century.)

þæm (i. e. Healfdene) fēower bearn forðgerimed
 in worold wōcon : weoroda ræswa
 Heorogār, ond Hrōðgār ond Hālga til ;
 hȳrde ic þæt elan cwēn
 Heaðo-Scilfingas heals-gebedda.

Line 62 is unfortunately incomplete, material equal in amount to a half-line having been omitted by the scribe, for there is no erasure or other defect in the manuscript in this place. This half-line surely contained the name of the Heaðo-Scilfing referred to in the following line. Whether the name of Healfdene's daughter is also lost has been a matter of much controversy. Some scholars have considered *elan* to be her name, and they have supposed that the missing half-line followed *cwēn*: *hȳrde ic þæt Elan cwēn* [*Ongenðeowes was*]. Others have thought that the missing words belonged immediately before *elan*, which has been identified as the last part of the name (weak decl.) of the Heaðo-Scilfing: *hȳrde ic þæt* [*N. N. was On*]*elan cwēn*. These are the more important old attempts to reconstruct the line.¹⁵ A more recent one—and the most brilliant of them all—aims to supply both names and to authorize them by a reference to the Icelandic *Hrólfs saga kraka*, where a daughter of Halfdanr (Healfdene), Signý by name, is said to marry the jǫrll Sævil: *hȳrde ic þæt* [*Sigenēow was Sēw*]*elan cwēn*.¹⁶ So convincing has this conjecture seemed that it appears to be all but universally accepted.¹⁷ Those who still have doubts concerning its correctness probably feel that the late *Hrólfs saga kraka* is not as good or as reliable a source as, for example, Saxo and others who know nothing about an alleged daughter Signý. The *Hrólfs saga* is, indeed, of such a character that its combinations with respect to persons and incidents can surely not be used with any confidence in a case like the present, for even if *elan* were the ending of a name of the weak declension it would not be without great risk to connect it with the ON. name *Sævil*.¹⁸

¹⁵ See Grein-Wülker, I, pp. 151 f., and other editions and commentators.

¹⁶ Kluge, *Engl. Stud.*, vol. XXII, pp. 144 f.

¹⁷ [Heyne]-Socin, *Bēowulf*, 7th ed., 1903, has adopted Kluge's emendation, transferring it from the notes of the 6th ed. into his present text.

¹⁸ Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 177 (167), says that the name is *Sevill* and identifies it with the OE. name *Seafola* (*Wids.*), whose historical prototype he considers to be the East-Roman *Sabinianus*.

In order to obtain a solution of the difficulty, one must start out by granting that *Elan* really does look very much like the name of a woman. Its resemblance to the name of the heroine in Cynewulf's *Elene*, for example, is sufficiently great to warrant the preliminary assumption that *Elan* and *Elene* may be variant forms of the same name.¹⁹ It is an absurdity to conclude that *Elan* cannot be the name of Healfdene's daughter for the reason that it does not look like a Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon name.²⁰ The form in which we have the *Bēowulf* is so late that we can easily conceive of a foreign name *Elan*, *Helena*, being attributed to the daughter of a Scandinavian king through a new combination on English ground. The Danish genealogy in the *Bēowulf* is surely a very old one, but we do not know how much the English have modified it.²¹ *Elan* may be an English creation of the eighth century, and with this possibility in mind the temptation to regard *elan* as anything but a woman's name should be small.

But now we must try to discover whether *Elan*, 'Helen,' is an integral part of the genealogy or whether she is an English addition to it. The form which this test must assume is now an obvious one. It must be investigated whether she is identical with the most famous of all Helens, the Greek Ἑλένη, the wife of Menelaus, of Paris, of Deiphobus, and again of Menelaus. If she is the Greek Helen, then it is possible that two of her three brothers may be the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux. Are the Dioscuri, the brothers of Helen, ever grouped together with a third person? The answer is a very definite and decisive one. They are in two known instances closely associated with Æneas, once on a painting of Parrhasios, as we are told by Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxv, 71 (*Laudantur et Æneas Castorque ac Pollux in eadem tabula*), and once on an Attic

¹⁹ With Socin's adoption of Kluge's emendation in l. 62 has followed the omission of a very valuable note: "Die frauenname *Elan*, bisher im ags. noch nicht nachgewiesen findet sich im ahd. als *Elana*, *Ellena*, *Elena*, *Elina*, *Alyan*, cf. Förstemann, *Namenb.* I, 66 f." (6th ed. p. 85).

²⁰ Kluge, l. c., p. 144: "In der that kann auch ich nicht glauben, dass *Elan* ein ae. frauenname sein soll; die von Heyne beigebrachten ahd. namensparallelen haben keinerlei gewicht."

²¹ Cf. Jessen, *Undersøgelse*, p. 49.

vase.²² From this fact we may at once grant the possibility that one of Helen's three "brothers" may be Æneas, and there need not, I think, be a moment's hesitation in regard to his identity. In this so-called Danish genealogy he is represented by *Hālga til*, 'Pious the Good.' The translator has not attempted to obtain a word corresponding to Æneas, but has chosen the easier way of translating the epithet *pious*, which is of very frequent occurrence in Latin poetry, especially in Virgil's *Æneid*, and which he thoroughly understood, for no objection can be made to *hālga*, 'holy,' as a faithful translation of *pious*. Whether the epithet *til*, 'good,' is simply a reinforcement of the name *Hālga* or based upon *bonus Æneas* (cf. *Æneid*, v, 770, xi, 106), it is difficult to decide, but it is not at all unlikely that the latter is the case, since material in which *pious Æneas* was mentioned is not unlikely to have brought also *bonus Æneas* with it.

The presence of the name *Elan* (one would expect the name originally to have been *Helan*, since all names in this group begin with *H*) and the exactness with which *Hālga til* corresponds to *pious*, *bonus Æneas*, are surely strong indications that we are now on the right track; but objection might no doubt be made that (H)Elan is not surely the name of Healfdene's daughter and that the likeness of the name *Hālga* to *pious* may be accidental. Besides, *pious* is by no means confined to Æneas, but might have occurred in connection with some other name. Light on the problem is to be obtained from an investigation of the question whether Heorogār and Hrōðgār actually represent Castor and Pollux, but there is one point which bears more directly on the identity of *Hālga* which it is more convenient to discuss at this time.

²² Cf. Rossbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Aineias*, vol. I, col. 1018: "Dass Aineias, Kastor und Polydeukes auf einem bilde des Parrhasios, wie Plinius n. h. xxxv, 71, ausdrücklich bemerkt, vereinigt waren, könnte auffallen, wenn es nicht auch eine attische rf. vase freien stils gäbe, auf welcher dieselben drei inschriftlich bezeichneten helden dem kampf des Oidipus mit der Sphinx zuschauen (*Journal of Hell. Stud.*, viii, taf. LXXXI = *Wiener Vorlegebl.*, 1889, taf. ix. 9a). Entweder haben die künstler kein bedenken getragen, den wie bei Xenoph. *de venat.* i, 15, mit den Griechen befreundeten A. neben den griechischen heroen darzustellen, oder dieser A. hat mit dem troischen helden nichts zu thun."

It is to be inferred from the *Bēowulf* that Hrōðulf is the son of Hālga, although this is not expressly stated. Hrōðulf is the same figure as Roluus crace, Rolf krake, Hrólfr kraki, of the Scandinavian sources. Stories were invented to account for the epithet *kraki*, literally, 'a pole,' attempts being made to explain it as due to his personal appearance, and this is, indeed, the modern view also. As a personal epithet *kraki* means 'small, slender, and weak,' and the explanation given by Saxo²³ is universally discredited. "The only meaning," says Olrik,²⁴ "which is really warranted for a person who is called 'krake' is 'a small, weak person, weakling.'" It is, indeed, as Olrik says, "somewhat surprising that the greatest heroic king in the North should bear such a nickname," and it can not be assumed that it is of late origin, since the growth and spread of his fame would render the origin of such an epithet more and more unlikely as time went on. But the solution which Olrik offers for the difficulty is not the only possible one, when he says that it must be a survival from Rolf krake's historical life and not a poetic invention: "The Shielding king, son of Helge (Hālga), must have been such a figure as to call forth the name krake"; and he draws some comfort from the consideration that the nickname may be a witticism or an exaggeration, not an evidence of a sickly weakling.²⁵

²³ Cf. Saxo, translated by Elton, p. 69: "A youth named Wigg, scanning with attentive eye the bodily size of Rolf, and smitten with great wonder thereat, proceeded to inquire in jest who was that "krage" whom Nature in her bounty had endowed with such towering stature? meaning humorously to banter his uncommon tallness. For "krage" in the Danish tongue means a tree-trunk, whose branches are pollarded, and whose summit is climbed in such wise that the foot uses the lopped timbers as supports," etc.—Saxo was a Zealander and was unfamiliar with *kraki* as a personal epithet.

²⁴ *Danmarks Heltedigtning*, København, 1903, p. 186.

²⁵ Olrik also mentions the possibility that Hrólfr kraki may have got his nickname on account of his being of giant stature. The origin of the name would in such a case be comparable to that of "Shorty" in college-nicknames for any exceptionally tall young man. But he dismisses this as improbable in favor of the view mentioned above. Hrólfr is thus the Napoleon, the "Little Corporal," of the North, and the name *kraki* must have been lovingly, even if jocularly, bestowed.

The meaning of *kraki* is 'withered, undeveloped, tree, branch, slender pole,' hence, 'small or insignificant horse,' and 'small, slender, sickly person' (cf. ON. *krók*, 'bend, hook,' Norw. dial. *krok*, 'wretched person,' lit. 'crooked, bent person'). Since it has already been shown that Hálga (Helgo, Helgi) is very probably Æneas, it may be assumed that Hröðulf-Hrólfr *kraki* is one of the legendary sons of Æneas. In several sources (see Roscher, vol. i, p. 182) Romulus is represented to be the son of Æneas,²⁶ not of Mars, as in the usual accounts, or he is the son of a daughter of Æneas. In Saxo Helgo (Hálga) commits rape on Thora, who bears a daughter Yrsa, who becomes, by her own father, the mother of Rolvo crace, and the same story, with variations, is also found in other Scandinavian sources. This feature may be a combination of two forms of the story of the birth of Romulus, the rape feature which was connected with Mars having been transferred to Æneas (Helgo). The Scandinavian Helgo, Helgi, has a character directly opposed to what his name 'Holy, Pious,' should imply, sensual love being his chief characteristic, and this is not less strange than the facts mentioned in connection with Hrólfr *kraki*. But this similarity between the Scandinavian and Classical accounts is not sufficient to identify Hrólfr with Romulus without accompanying evidence of a more definite character.

What is the origin of the epithet *kraki* (lit. 'slender branch or pole') which is surely a very old one, as old as the "historical" king Hrólfr, or as old as his legendary origin? The solution of this problem will, I believe, make it almost a certainty that Hrólfr *kraki* represents Romulus. The word *kraki* is here, in my opinion, a translation of the Roman epithet *trabeatus*, 'dressed in or wearing a trabea, a robe of state of augurs, kings and knights.' This epithet is applied to Romulus (Quirinus) in Ovid, *Met.* 14, 828, and in *F.* 1, 37: *trabeati Quirini*, and it is not unlikely to have appeared in poetic material which brought to the North the names *Diomedes Argivus* (*Graius*, *Danaus*), *Helena*, and *pius*, *bonus Æneas*. The translator has very naturally con-

nected *trabeatus*, which he did not understand, with *trabs*, 'a beam, a timber, a tree,' = *kraki*, 'a slender pole or tree.'

Hálga the Good is thus shown to be Æneas, and it is clear that the name 'Holy One' is not an accidental equivalent to *pius*, which is an epithet peculiarly Æneas's own. The commanding position of Hrólfr *kraki* in Danish heroic poetry corresponds well with that of his great prototype in Roman legend. The "trabeated" Romulus holds his own on Northern soil in spite of his unfortunate name; the character of pious Æneas as a heroic figure is not controlled by his name 'Holy One.' The influence of names upon conceptions and stories is, indeed, often very great, but it has its limits, and names have often functions as mere names serving to identify figures, legendary and historical, and their meanings are frequently lost sight of.

The value of the clue which has been found in the name *Elan* has already been sufficiently demonstrated. We must now consider the question whether Heorogār and Hröðgār are proved also by other considerations to be identical with Castor and Pollux. They are, as in the two Classical art-sources already mentioned, closely associated with Æneas, and their sister is Helen. It is, I believe, possible further to identify them, and to decide who is Castor and who is Pollux. We are naturally inclined to expect the names in the order Castor and Pollux (= Heorogār and Hröðgār), but this is not evidence, since the names often occur also in the order Pollux and Castor.

Castor and Pollux were members of the Argonautic expedition. When this reached Bebrycia in Asia Minor, they were met by Amycus, king of the Bebrycians, a son of Poseidon and of the nymph Melie. He challenged the best among the Argonauts to single combat. Pollux accepted the challenge and slew him after a fierce struggle (Ap. Rhodius). According to Theocritus (*Idylls*, 22, 27-134) Castor and Pollux meet Amycus in a wood where he is guarding a spring, permitting no one to drink from it unless he shall be willing to engage with him in a fist fight. The pugilist Pollux accepts the challenge and subdues him, but does not kill him. He permits him to swear by his father Poseidon that he will be friendly to strangers in the future.

²⁶ Cf. *Plutarch's Lives*, tr. by Langhorne, vol. i, p. 58: "Some say he (Romulus) was son of Æneas and Dexithea, the daughter of Phorbus," etc.

This story is surely the ultimate source of the story of Hrōðgār's relations with the Heaðo-beardan, 'Warlike Beards,' enemies of the Danes, to whose prince Ingeld he gives his daughter Frēawaru, in order to secure a lasting peace between the two peoples. Ingeld's father Frōða has previously fallen in a battle with the Danes, and he finally breaks the truce in order to secure revenge, in spite of *wif-lufu* (l. 2066). The conclusion of the feud is learned from *Widsið*, 45-49: "Hrōðwulf and Hrōðgār, uncle and nephew, lived long together in peace after they had banished the race of the Vikings, bent Ingeld's spear, and cut down at Heorot the host of the Heaðo-bards." I believe that the Classical source of this episode was epic in character and that it was in so far, at least, in accordance in form with Valerius Flaccus' *Argonauticon*, bk. iv, 118 ff., that Amycus was described as *inops Amycus* (iv, 296), *inops*, 'helpless, poor in strength,' because he was unable to cope with the superior strength of Pollux. The translator has taken each element of the word *inops* in its "literal" meaning: *in-* as '*In-*' and *-ops*, 'power, might, substance, wealth,' as '*-geld*,' hence '*In-geld*'²⁷ (ON. *Ingjaldr*²⁸). The *Heaðobeardan*, 'Warlike Beards,' which modern scholars have believed to be a historical people,²⁹ either identical with the Herulians, or with a remnant of the Lombards, have an origin like that of the prince Ingeld. The difficult name *Bebrycii* has been corrupted into, or identified with, the word *barbarici*, 'barbarous,' and translated by means of the word *barba*, 'beard.' It is possible that the *Bebrycii* may have been described, as barbarians not infrequently are, as *bellicosi*, 'bellicose, warlike,' but it is not necessary to assume such an origin for the first element of the name, which is hardly more than a conventional epithet. It could easily arise from the

fact that the "Beards" were opponents of the Danes (Greeks) in war; cf. also *Heaðo-Scilfing*, *Heaðo-rēamas*, *Heaðo-lāf*. The whole story is thus in short this: Hrōðgar-Pollux pacifies Ingeld—inops Amycus, king of the warlike Beards—*Bebrycii* (*barbarici*). The introduction of a father (*Frōða* = 'Old Man, Father') into the story, whose death in battle is made to account for the feud, and of a marriage to allay it, are features so conventional in character that they in no wise militate against the view here set forth.

The names *Heorogār*, *Hrōðgār*, *Heoroweard*, *Hrēðrie*, *Hrōðmund*, and *Hrōðulf* do not seem to be translations of Classical names. The first two and the last of these correspond to *Castor*, *Pollux*, and *Romulus*, but they have all the appearance of having being selected with the alliterative requirements of verse in mind.³⁰ Some of these names may have belonged to historical persons or kings, but there is no way of determining whether this be so or not. There is still one point to be mentioned which seems further to show that the Dioscuri are represented by *Heorogār* and *Hrōðgār*, whatever be the chance which has given them these names. In *Bēowulf*, 467, Hrōðgār tenderly refers to the death of his brother *Heorogār* in the following words: *Sē was betera ðonne ic*, "he was better than I." May not this be a trace of the beautiful Classical story concerning the loving relationship which existed between the two twin-brothers? When the mortal *Castor* dies *Pollux* prays that he also may be permitted to die, and *Zeus* permits him to spend alternately one day with the gods in heaven, where he belongs, the next in *Hades* with his beloved brother. According to another story, they are placed, on account of their brotherly love, in the heavens as the constellation *Gemini*. Such a coincidence between the account in the *Bēowulf* and in Classical sources may not be of much importance, but there is at least nothing to indicate that *Heorogār* and *Hrōðgār* have historical prototypes which have been accidentally identified with the *Dioscuri*.

³⁰ Olrik, p. 22 f., finds in the alliteration evidence of the historical character of the names. Granted that alliteration was a principle in the giving of names in real life in the Period of Migrations, poetry would naturally simulate real life as well as follow its own laws.

²⁷ Cf. the similar words, OE. *in-tierness*, 'possession,' *in-hera*, 'home army'; *in-feng*, 'hostile grasp.'

²⁸ Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautl.*, p. 13, identifies *Ingjaldr* with OE. *Ing*, as if *Ing-aldr*, but *Ingjaldr* may just as regularly be from *In-geld*, cf. ON. *gjalda*, 'to pay' = OE. *gieldan* = Goth. *gildan*.

²⁹ Cf. Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, p. 161 (153), foot-note: "With Müllenhoff and most other scholars I regard the account of the battle with the *Headhobards*, in *Bēowulf*, as historical." Cf. *Detter, Beitr.*, vol. xviii, pp. 90 ff.

The combination of a selected native name with an epithet obtained from a Classical source is a procedure which has been illustrated by the name *Hrólfr kraki*, the *Hrōðulf* of *Bēowulf*. Another example of this may perhaps be found in the name *Hrærekr slongvanbaugi*, a contemporary of *Hrólfr kraki*, who corresponds to *Hrēðric*, a "son" of *Hrōðgār*, in the *Bēowulf*. *Slongvanbaugi* means 'ring-slinger' or '-thrower,' and it appears nowhere except in connection with this name. Stories were invented in order to account for it, that in Saxo being typical: Rorik attempts to throw six bracelets into the hands of another person, but they fall short and drop into the sea.³¹ Now, there is in Icelandic sources also a *Hrærekr hneggvanbaugi*, 'a niggardly giver of rings,' and the question arises which epithet is the original one. It seems probable that *hneggvanbaugi* is later formed on the pattern of *slongvanbaugi*,³² for the two *Hræreks* are surely identical, there being but one *Hrēðric* in the *Bēowulf*. The position which *Hrærekr* occupies varies in the different sources. In some he is the successor of *Hrólfr kraki*,—of Romulus. It is possible that he may represent Ancus Martius, the third king after Romulus, who bears, in poetry, the epithet *jactantior* (*Ancus*), a word which would not to the unsophisticated suggest the meaning 'boastful,' or 'proud, noble,' but which would be likely to receive a literal interpretation: *jactantior* is from *jactare*, 'to throw,' and the first element of the epithet *slongvan-baugi* would thus be naturally accounted for. But, how did the translator arrive at his translation of *Ancus* as 'ring'? Its similarity to *anulus*, 'ring,' is not very great and we would hardly expect him to know that *ancus* means 'bent,' cf. Gr. *ἄγκος*, 'a glen, a dell,' lit. 'a bend, a hollow,' *ἄγκών*, 'the bend of the arm, the elbow'; Lat. *uncus*, 'hook,' Gr. *ὄγκος*, 'hook, barb, angle,' etc. Was his translation of *Ancus* determined by the meaning which he saw

in *jactantior* coupled with the fact that epithets descriptive of kings so often concern the liberal distribution of gold, ornaments, and, especially, rings?³³ If the word *jactantior* suggested to the translator a king so liberal that he thought of him as "throwing" his gifts broadcast, is it not possible that rings, *baugar*, a form of gift most suitable to the character of an old Germanic king, would naturally occur to him as the most obvious complement to the first element 'throw'? That *Hrærekr slongvanbaugi* represents *jactantior* Ancus is made probable also by another consideration. In Saxo the Hamlet story is loosely attached to Roricus (*Hrærekr*, *Hrēðric*) and occupies about the same place chronologically as the Brutus story in Roman legends. The similarity which exists between the Hamlet and the Brutus stories has often been observed, and an attempt has been made to show that the former is really identical with the latter, the name *Hamlet*, 'fool,' being explained as a translation of the name *Brutus*, 'fool.'³⁴ Following *jactantior* Ancus the Tarquins and Brutus are the chief figures of interest in Roman history.³⁵ The similarity between the Classical and the Northern stories is surely not an accidental one. In the same connection it must not be forgotten that the Danish legends of Hother and Balder, which in Saxo occupy a place immediately before those concerning Roric and Hamlet, have also been considered to be of Classical origin.³⁶ All these facts are surely of significance for the whole subject and they need to be re-studied and correlated, but I cannot here attempt to do more than to refer to them in the briefest possible way.

³³ Cf. ON. *baug-broti*, 'ring-breaker, a liberal giver of rings,' OE. *bēaga brytta*, *sinces brytta*, *bēag-gifa*; the importance of rings, bracelets, etc. (cf. OE. *earm-*, *healsbēag*) in old Germanic treasures is well known. The translation of Lat. *nigromantia* as 'Black Art' is based upon a general inference, not upon a precise knowledge of the meaning of the second element *-mantia*.

³⁴ F. Dettmer, 'Die Hamletsage,' *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, vol. xxxvi (1892), pp. 1 ff.; cf. Elton and Powell, pp. 398-411, Olrik, *Saksens Oldhistorie*, p. 163.

³⁵ Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi, 815 ff.:

Quem (Tullus) iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus,
nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.
Vis et Tarquinius reges, animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti, fascesque videre receptos?

³⁶ Bugge, *Studier*, pp. 79 ff.

³¹ Cf. Elton, p. 103.

³² Bugge, *Studier*, I, p. 164, is inclined to the opposite view. It may be mentioned in this place that Bugge has here anticipated Sarrazin (*Engl. Stud.*, vol. xxiv, p. 144) and Olrik (*Danm. Helled.*, p. 34), in recognizing *Hrærekr hneggvanbaugi* in Saxo's line, *Qui natum Böki Röricum stravü ovarí*, in which Röric is represented to be the son of the miser Bök: *hneggvanbaugi* has been taken to mean 'the miserly Bök' (ODan. *bök*.)

Since it is clear that the Danish genealogy is of foreign origin, the question must arise whether it is possible to discover the reason why it was borrowed and localized in Denmark, and many will surely ask: Is there any better reason to be found for this strange procedure than that which lies in the similarity between the names *Danir* and *Danai*? This similarity could most easily lead to an identification of Danes and Greeks and thus to the adoption of a Græco-Roman legendary genealogy. I do not think that this can be confidently accepted as a final answer to the riddle. The reason may have been another, and the names *Danir* and *Danai* may have played only a small rôle (cf. the name *Healfdene*) in the formation of the legends. The sources of information are silent concerning the name *Danir* until the sixth century, and we do not know with certainty how or when it originated. Neither do we know when the Scylding genealogy originated, for its localization in time apparently just before the dawn of authentic history (cf. Hygelâc's expedition in Gregory of Tours) does not settle this question. Its origin may be placed very far back of 500 A. D. without violation of the evidence of Northern archæology with respect to Southern culture in early Denmark. All indications point to the existence in Denmark of an extraordinary culture in the Period of Migrations, but few will be ready to believe that a poetry of culture could in this period have foisted a foreign name upon a whole people.

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THE SOURCE OF J. E. SCHLEGEL'S COMEDY *Die Stumme Schönheit*.

The authors generally assumed to have served as models for the best German comedy before Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, namely, J. E. Schlegel's *Die stumme Schönheit*, are Molière and Destouches.¹ But this play shows a far more striking similarity, both in character and expression, to a comedy which was produced on the

¹ Cf. F. Muncker, *Die Bremer Beiträge*, ii (Kürschners *Deutsche Nat. Litt.*, xlv), p. 121.

Hamburg stage for the first time in August, 1741, *Der Bookesbeutel*, by Hinrich Borkenstein.² The plot of the *Bookesbeutel*, which, in spite of its local character, soon became widely known, is, in a few words, as follows:—Ehrenreich, a rich and well-educated young man, comes to Hamburg with the intention of espousing the sister of his college friend Sittenreich. This sister, however, whose education, both mental and moral, has been neglected by her mother Agneta and her miserly father Grobian, has to call in the help of her modest friend Charlotte, to teach her how to converse with educated people, and even, if need be, to prompt her in the course of conversation.³ Unfortunately, the intended bridegroom, instead of falling in love with the daughter of the house, does so with the despised Charlotte, whom he presents as his bride to the dismayed parents of the Jungfer Susanna. This is not the only motive of the play, but it is the one round which all the action turns, all the other developments, e. g., Sittenreich's proposal to Ehrenwert's sister, being of quite minor importance. And this is the motive which Schlegel has turned to such good account in *Die Stumme Schönheit*. Jungwitz has come up from the country with the express purpose of marrying Charlotte, the supposed daughter of his old friend Richard. Charlotte, however, has been brought up by Frau Praatgern just as deplorably as Susanna in the *Bookesbeutel*. Lenore, the supposed daughter of Frau Praatgern, but in reality that of Richard, is called in to instruct and prompt Charlotte, and, in doing so, she is discovered by Jungwitz, who is already disenchanted by his intended bride. The consequence is that Jungwitz falls in love with Lenore and claims her as his bride instead of the foolish Charlotte. Not only are the plots of the two plays similar, but there is a striking similarity of detail. In both plays the visitors arrive quite unexpectedly and thereby cause some confusion. Cf.

"Agneta: Es ist in unserer ganzen Freundschaft kein Gebrauch, dass wir anders als des Sonntags Gäste haben." (*Bookesbeutel*, I, 6).

and—

² Edited for A. Sauer's *Deutsche Litt. Denkm. des 18. und 19. Jahrh.*, 56–57, by F. Heitmüller, Leipzig, 1896.

³ Cf. Reprint, p. 20, line 12 f.

"Kathrine: Es wird kein Mensch hier angenommen.
Wer uns besuchen will, mag den Neujahrstag kommen.
Soll meine Frau denn stets geputzt im Hause gehn?"
(*Stumme Schönheit*, 5).

Views on education are freely given in both plays, more especially on the education of girls, a subject of great interest at that time. Cf.

"Agneta: Ich halte es für die grösste Thorheit (*viz.*, the education of the female sex), und weiss meinen Eltern noch diese Stunde Dank, dass sie mich mit vielem Kopfbrechen verschonet haben." (*Bookesbeutel*, II, 1).

and—

"Richard: Jetztund erzieht man fast die Mädchen gar zu klug.
Sie müssen sich den Kopf mit tausend Zeug zerbrechen."
(*Stumme Schönheit*, 2).

And these views are opposed by the men of the younger generation who prefer the pleasure of "angenehmer Umgang" to all other merely domestic advantages. Cf.

"Sittenreich: Zum Ehestand gehört mehr als Essen, Trinken und Schlafen. Es wird ein angenehmer Umgang und eine gute Begegnung beyder Gatten erfordert, etc."
(*Bookesbeutel*, III, 2).

"Jungwitz: Das Hauptwerk einer Frau ist nicht der Fleiss allein,
Zum Umgang nehm ich sie, nicht um bedient zu sein."
(*Stumme Schönheit*, 2).

Not even the richest dowry can make up for the lack of understanding in the eyes of the respective lovers. Ehrenwert declares "dass er vergnügter ist mit ihrer blossen Person als mit der reichsten Jungfer ohne Erziehung," and similarly Jungwitz exclaims:

"Was ist die reichste Frau mit wenigem Verstand?
Wie unnütz ist das Geld in einer Thörin Hand?"

That the names of the characters in both cases are symbolic has little significance, as this symbolism was almost the rule at the time, but it might be noted that in both plays one of the principal characters is called Charlotte.

It is highly probable that Schlegel witnessed a performance of the *Bookesbeutel* on the Hamburg stage, when passing through that town in 1743 on his way to Copenhagen. *Die Stumme Schönheit* was written in 1747 and appeared in 1748, together with *Der Triumph der guten Frauen*, as *Beyträge zum dänischen Theater*.

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THE RISE OF THE HEROIC PLAY.

Holzhausen, in his sketch of the rise and development of the heroic play (*Englische Studien*, 13. 416 n.), says, with reference to Ohlsen's *Dryden as a Dramatist and Critic* (Altona progr., no. 263, 1883),

"Ueber dies passiren ihm allerhand seltsame schnitzer. So nennt er aus s. IV kurzweg Davenant als denjenigen, welcher die heroic plays in England eingeführt habe, was, wenn auch nicht ganz falsch, so doch entschieden schief ist. Denn Davenant's thätigkeit . . . hat allerdings der neuen gattung in England verschiedenen ingrediencien zugeführt; der eigentliche begründer des heroischen dramas in England ist dagegen Lord Orrery gewesen."

Later (*ib.* 422), after instancing the French romances, classical French tragedy, the Italian epic, the taste of the Court, and the taste for conceit due to the 'metaphysical poets,' as factors in its development, Holzhausen continues,

"Was nun die zahlreichen gesänge, die eingestreuten lyrischen partien, die tänze und ballet-aufführungen anbelangt, die uns fast in jedem der heroischen dramen des dichters begegnen, so wurde dieser dramatische firlefanz auf der englischen bühne durch Davenant eingeführt."

He goes on to explain the nature of Davenant's operas, by which "wurde das englische drama gewissermassen noch einmal in seinem embryonalen zustand zur zeit der 'Dumb Shows' und 'Interludes' zurückversetzt," and remarks that the *Siege of Rhodes*, originating in these musical and spectacular entertainments and written in part, but only in part, in heroic couplets,

"ist in gewissem sinne das erste heroische drama der Engländer. Der begründer des regelrechten heroischen dramas in England war dagegen Lord Orrery, welcher sowohl in seiner behandlung der heroischen gefühle, wie auch in seinem zurückgreifen auf die Scudéry-romane, unserem Dryden den weg zeigte."

Several errors are included in these statements. The first of these is in regard to the part which the *Siege of Rhodes* played in the establishment of the heroic play and the determination of its characteristics. Ohlsen should not have been taken to task for a statement that rests on Dryden's own authority in the well-known passage in his essay

"Of Heroick Playes": "The first light we had of them on the *English Theatre* was from the late Sir William D'Avenant: it being forbidden him in the Rebellious times to act Tragedies and Comedies . . . he was forc'd to turn his thoughts another way: and to introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ in verse, and perform'd in Recitative Musique. The Original of this Musick and of the Scenes which adorn'd his work, he had from the *Italian Opera's*: but he heightened his Characters (as I may probably imagine) from the examples of *Corneille* and some *French Poets*. In this Condition did this part of Poetry remain at His Majesties return. When growing bolder, as being now own'd by a publick Authority, he review'd his *Siege of Rhodes* and caus'd it to be acted as a just *Drama*. but as few men have the happiness to begin and finish any new project, so neither did he live to make his design perfect. . . For myself and others, who come after him, we are bound, with all veneration to his memory, to acknowledge what advantage we receiv'd from that excellent ground-work which he laid: and, since it is an easie thing to add to what already is invented, we ought all of us, without envy to him, or partiality to our selves, to yield him the precedence in it."

This declaration has perhaps been too currently received without detailed examination of the nature of Davenant's contribution, but how little it accords on its face value with Holzhausen's view appears in Dryden's specific reference to an "excellent ground-work," his indebtedness and that of others (Orrery and Howard) to Davenant, and his additions to what was "already invented." What these additions were, we learn later: "Having done him this justice, as my guide; I may do my self so much, as to give an account of what I have perform'd after him. I observ'd then, as I said, what was wanting to the perfection of his *Siege of Rhodes*: which was Design and variety of Characters."

The *Siege of Rhodes* need not be examined here in detail to disprove Holzhausen's statement. His reference to 'Dumb Shows' and 'Interludes,' unless humorously intended, is little less than extraordinary. The plot of the *Siege of Rhodes* is fairly elaborate and the dramatic interest sufficiently sustained. Holzhausen says it is written

in part, but only in part, in heroic couplets, but omits to note that this measure is characteristically used for the more purely dramatic portions, that the use of other measures is simply incidental to its operative form, and that, when these occur, the heroic conception quite as markedly dominates both characterization and sentiment. Moreover, to cite evidence not hitherto advanced, Davenant in his *Prefatory Address*, omitted after the first edition (Works, 1873, 3: 232-235), declares he has observed "the Ancient Dramatic distinctions made for time," and remarks that the story is "Heroical" and (anticipating Dryden's "patterns of virtue") "notwithstanding the continual hurry and busy agitations of a hot Siege, is (I hope) intelligibly convey'd to advance the characters of Virtue in the shapes of valour and conjugal Love." Further, Davenant in the edition of 1663, in the Dedication, specifically uses the term "Heroic Plays" before Dryden took up the mode and before Orrery's plays appeared. Further, on every page the heroic note is unmistakable. The theme of honor won by valor is repeated indefinitely, and with it that of valor inspired by love; so also "virtue's pattern" appears, conquering beauty, rivalry in nobility of soul, the use of trains of equivocal, and even, in a minor relation, the conflict between love and honor. Such a point as that Roxolana is the direct ancestress of the long line of wicked empresses and emperors tailing out into the eighteenth century hardly needs to be referred to. The important fact to be noted is not merely that this is genuine heroic material and that the treatment is heroic, but that the forced, strained, romantically enthusiastic spirit of the sentiment and diction is precisely that which appears in Dryden. Further, it as definitely does not appear in Orrery, who, while representing transcendent virtue and using a story romantic enough, has plainly as his ideal, and succeeds in reproducing in some measure, the tone and spirit of the French classical drama. Also—a point of importance in considering the question of relative influence—Dryden straightforwardly follows Davenant in presenting his characters in scenes diversified as much as possible by bustle and confusion and the alarms of war.

It seems scarcely possible that any one could

read Dryden and Orrery side by side in connection with the *Siege of Rhodes* without having these facts appear as self-evident, save if only the judgment of the reader were prejudiced by his holding a special brief for Orrery. Holzhausen was probably led astray by another error, leading him to claim more for Orrery in every regard than was justified. This error is not so self-evident. In maintaining that Orrery was the originator of the true heroic play, he says it was Orrery who led Dryden to the French romances, and caused the introduction into the drama of their ideals and sentiment with respect to love and honor. But these appear definitely in Davenant, and where else than in the French romance could he have got them? The matter does not rest on such mere assertion; it is susceptible of specific explication. Holzhausen, in claiming for Orrery the use of the French romance as dramatic material, has reference, of course, to his *Mustapha*, the fable of which he drew from Mlle. de Scudéry's *Ibrahim*—the only play of his, by the way, taken from the romances. But Davenant, years before him, used *Ibrahim* in the same manner. Orrery took the history of *Mustapha et Zéangir*. He discarded the Persian princesses, Felician and Axiamira, which figure in that story, and changed the scene, turning to Knolles's *History of the Turks* and using Solymán's occupation of Hungary (ed. 1620, p. 713 a.), introducing as minor characters the Queen of Hungary and her young son, the King. Davenant, something like eight years before (the precise time cannot be stated, as one does not know during what attack of gout *Mustapha* was written), turning to *Ibrahim*, drew from it his types of character, motives of dramatic action, heroic sentiment, and the rest. Solymán he took bodily, making him even more of a pattern of virtue. On *Ibrahim* he modeled his hero, Alphonso. His fable represents an adaptation or derivation of the story of *Ibrahim*. In the romance, Solymán, out of his affection for *Ibrahim* and under the influence of Roxolana's machinations, sends for, and carries off by violence, Isabella, the Princess of Monaco. She is present in his court, and he conceives a passion for her, which only his nobility enables him ultimately to control, thus permitting the final happiness of the lovers. Davenant,

like Orrery later, goes outside the romance to Knolles for his scene, taking the siege of Rhodes. For dramatic effectiveness he places his hero in Rhodes and causes the lady to seek him out and put herself in Solymán's power to win Alphonso's safety. This was, also, in part a necessary consequence of his use of the siege of Rhodes, to which he was led not only by its picturesque effectiveness for scenic purposes, but also as enabling him to bring in, in connection with the course of nations at Rhodes, patriotic references to the transcendency of the English arms. A conclusive point, as regards Davenant's use of the romance is the character of Solymán. He is emphatically not the bloody tyrannic Solymán of Knolles; he is the Solymán of *Ibrahim*, though made still more superior to all human weakness.

Apart from specific proof, no one who has read what Malone somewhere calls the somniferous romances of that venerable spinster, Mlle. de Scudéry—despite which, the *Ibrahim* is a fine book and an interesting, though portentously long—can doubt for a moment whence Davenant drew the ideals and coloration of his play. The reason why Davenant's indebtedness for these, and for the characters and fable of his play, to Mlle. de Scudéry has never been noted is because it is natural to think of her as coming too late to render it possible. The fact is *Ibrahim* was published in 1641 and the first part of the *Siege of Rhodes* dates 1656. This leads to the further and final argument. Davenant was involved in a royalist conspiracy, and saved himself by flight to France in the year 1641, the precise year in which Mlle. de Scudéry, under her brother Philip's name, published the *Ibrahim*. It is impossible that he was ignorant of the work, impossible in view of the argument above that he did not draw from it for the *Siege of Rhodes*. It is also impossible that Dryden did not recognize the fact, as anyone who reads *Ibrahim* must necessarily recognize it. Orrery cannot be said, with Holzhausen, to have been the cause of leading Dryden to the romances. Dryden followed Davenant in his use of his sources, as he did in the manner of his treatment of the material thence drawn. What Orrery did was to make the heroic play fashionable—give it standing and aid in ensuring its success.

It is of the highest importance that Davenant should receive full credit as the true originator of the heroic play in every essential characteristic, or a further point of paramount importance will not clearly appear—the development of the heroic play out of the earlier romantic drama. Professor Schelling has suggested to me their fundamental similarity, instancing Fletcher in particular and the characteristics displayed even in so early a play as *Philaster*. The pertinency of the comparison is at once evident, as soon as it is pointed out, but has never been indicated and emphasized. While, however, it at once brings the heroic play, as a product of decadent romanticism, into relation with the earlier ultra-romantic drama, the heroic drama is formally so well-defined and singular, that one would at first be disposed to doubt any definite organic connection in development. Long before the heroic play, this or that dramatist transcended nature more or less beyond measure in the intensification of traits of character, or the forcing of situation, or the like. It is inherent in romanticism that the temptation will come to achieve ever heightened effects by transcending nature to a degree or in a manner productive of an infraction of the canon of nature. This generally, however, has, in the earlier dramatists such as Fletcher or Massinger the quality of generous aspiration, a noble ambition; the result is not inflation or extravagance. It is not only a question of degree, but also of manner and purpose. At the very beginning of the artistic drama, there is, in Marlowe, as a consequence of his individual temperament, a prodigious enlargement of the proportions, properties, passions, and possessions of his heroes, which so far from suggesting violence to nature, or leading to the bombastic or preposterous, creates an illusion, possesses an impressiveness, akin to the supernatural. But all this seems at first far removed from the prescribed formulas and fixed and rigid forms, and superimposed artificialities, of the heroic play. Granting that its romanticism was decadent while that of the earlier romanticists was verging on or prophetic of decadence only, one would still be inclined to believe that the heroic play was a separate and special development due to particular influences. But as soon as Davenant's responsibility for the development of the heroic play is justly appre-

hended and appraised, a further consequence follows. Upon examination, it proves to be the case that a distinct connection can be traced; that is, that in him the process of perversion of Fletcherian romanticism can be distinctly traced.

The evidence may be found in Davenant's play, licensed in 1634, under the title *The Courage of Love*. Alvaro and Evandra are heroic characters. Alvaro in his rebuke to Prospero for the capture of Evandra uses the unmistakeable language of the heroic hero in the making. Had he captured her, he says, he would have taught his steed the motion of a lamb, put her upon him,

"Whilst I, her slave,
Walk'd by, marking what hasty flowers sprung up,
Invited by her eyebeams from their cold roots;
And this would each true soldier do, that had
Refin'd his courage with the sober checks
Of sweet philosophy."

Alvaro in lamenting to Evandra the action of Prospero says

"Sure, Evandra, thou
Art strongly pitiful, that dost so long
Conceal an anger that would kill us both."

Alvaro later exclaims

Danger! How noble lovers smile at such
A thought. 'Tis love that only fortifies
And gives us mighty vigor to attempt
On other's force, and suffer more than we
Inflict. Would all the soldiers, that I lead
In active war, were lovers too, though lean,
Feebled, and weakened with their ladies' frowns
How, when their valour's stirred, would they march
strong,
Through hideous gulphs, through numerous herds
Of angry lions, and consuming fire?

Alvaro charges Prospero in the presence of Evandra:

Alv. I charge thee by our love, by all my care
That bred thee from thy childhood to a sense
Of honour, and the worthiest feats of war,
Thou keep Evandra safe, till happier days
Conspire to give her liberty. Use her
With such respective holiness as thou
Would'st do the reliques of a saint enshrin'd,
And teach thy rougher manners tenderness
Enough to merit her society.

Pros. What need this conjuration, sir? I mean
To die for her, that I may save your life.

A brave design! dissuade me not. Though I
Fail oft in choice of fitting enterprise,
I know this is becoming, sir, and good.

Alv. Thou die for her? Alas, poor Prospero!

That will not satisfy, the shaft aims here ;
 Or if it would, I do not like thou should'st
 Thus press into a cause that I reserve
 To dignify my self. Urge it no more.
Pros. What am I fit for then, if not to die?
Evam. How am I worthy of this noble strife.

The interest of the play turns chiefly on generous rivalry between the principal characters as to who shall succeed in performing an act of heroic self-sacrifice, which incidentally imposes upon Leonell a conflict between his love and honor. Melora and Evandra both yield themselves to the Duke, who, not being able to determine the true Evandra, decrees they both shall die. Alvaro and Prospero challenge Leonell to acknowledge his love for Evandra, and when he does so, to the intense astonishment of the reader, Alvaro expresses the "prompt and warm delight" their similarity of feeling affords him, and the three seal a friendship "good and inviolate, lasting as truth." The three lovers see Evandra and Melora passing on the upper stage, their place of confinement, and a passage of heroic hyperbole follows. Leonell exclaims:

Would I were in a cannon charg'd, then st[r]aight
 Shot out to batter it, and be no more.
Pros. Would all the stones might be ordain'd my food,
 Till I could eat their passage out.

Alvaro remarks that these "angry exaltations show but poor," but has one not less exalted to suggest. Have they not grief enough, he asks, to die without their swords?

Let us with fix'd and wat'ry eyes behold
 These ladies suffer, but with silence still,
 Calmly like pinion'd doves ; and when we see
 The fatal stroke is given, swell up our sad
 And injur'd hearts until they break.

These citations, though brief, will sufficiently evidence the heroic tone of the play. A later play, *The Unfortunate Lovers*, licensed in 1638, does not display the heroic note so markedly, though it appears in such paragons of beauty and fidelity as Arthiopa and Amaranta, in the overwhelming conquests their beauty instantly effects, and in the vow of Ascoli. The fact that this play is less markedly extravagant is negligible for this reason. These two plays are the last Davenant wrote before the Civil War. After Davenant had been in France and had learned to know the

French romance, in the year 1649 he prepared the *Courage of Love* for the press, and published it, but not, it is significant to note, under the title it bore in 1634. The title he now gave it was *Love and Honour*, that is to say, he used the very words that later became the shibboleth and structural formula of the heroic play. Whether or no he added or intensified the heroic passages at this time is immaterial, for this play with its significant title and its heroic features antedates the *Siege of Rhodes* seven years and Orrery's first play, *Mustapha*, some fifteen years.

A point which may be briefly referred to here is that these and others of Davenant's plays reflect the cult of Platonic love adopted by England from France, recently treated so helpfully and delightfully by Professor Fletcher ("Précieuses at the Court of Charles I," *Journal of Comparative Literature*, Vol. 1). Professor Fletcher, in treating the love-dialogue in poetry affected by this cult, has not noted that the use of these sentimental Amoebics passed through Davenant into the heroic play of Dryden, where they became a minor characteristic feature. The cult also contributed to the heroic play some part of its metaphysics and casuistry in dealing with questions of love and honor. The vogue of the heroic in France followed and in part grew out of the Platonic cult, and England followed France, though in a different literary mode and after a considerable interval of time.

It may also be suggested here that the extent of the debt of the heroic play through Davenant to Fletcher may be gathered by a reference to Professor Thorndyke's chapter on the characteristics of the romances of Beaumont and Fletcher in his *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakspeare*. The points he makes might repeatedly be applied as well to the heroic play as to the plays he is treating. The difference is that the elements and features noted have in the heroic play been artificialized and rendered extravagant. Health in the one has given place to a diseased condition in the other. Davenant, the link between Fletcher and Dryden, displays the process of decadence in operation. He represents the appropriation and the perversion of the Fletcherian romanticism on the one hand, and the development of the formal and other individual characteristics of the heroic

play on the other, as well as the earliest use of the source from which its most characteristic material was derived.

It remains to run somewhat rapidly over the remainder of the genetic period of the heroic play till Dryden appears. In 1651 (Geneste, 2:161) appeared the *Rebellion of Naples*, dated MDCII (read MDCLI). This I have not seen, but, so far as I can gather, it is not heroic. It is to be expected, as was the case, that Beaumont and Fletcher would be popular during the period after the Restoration, and this already appears when *Philaster* was acted in 1651 or 1652 (see the edition of 1652). The statement is made in the address, in the fifth impression be it noted, of this edition: "This play so affectionately taken and approved by the Auditors, or hearing Spectators . . . hath received (as appears by the copious vent of four Editions) no less acceptance with improvement of you likewise the Readers."

In 1653 Hemming's *Fatal Contract* was printed. A few lines of rime appear, and the play is violent in a way that suggests the later heroic mode, but it is not definitely heroic. Settle's revision, *Love and Revenge*, in 1675, made it very definitely so in parts; it was also printed in 1687 as the *Eunuch*.

I have not seen Sir Robert Stapleton's *Royal Choice* (Geneste, S. R. 29 Nov. 1653). In 1656 the first part of Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes* was acted and printed. Both parts were played in 1661 and Pepys speaks of the scene as "very fine and magnificent." In 1661 or 1662 *Love and Honour* was given. Pepys saw it, "being the first time of their acting it: is a good plot and very well done"; also later, "and a very good play it is." Porter's *Villain*, after a production, probably in 1662, was printed in 1663. It is wholly in blank verse and not heroic.

The year 1662 saw the production of Sir Samuel Tuke's *Adventures of Five Hours*, a confessed adaptation of a play attributed then and often now to Calderon, but really by Coello, *Los Empeños de Seis Horas*. This play won the highest praise from Pepys and the public generally. It is somewhat surprising, considering its source, to find that it contains indubitable heroic elements, and even frequent use of rime. It was revised in some particulars and some additions made in 1669, but

it seems quite impossible that all the heroic elements should be due to revision. I have seen only the edition of 1712, but Collier's comments in Dodsley, and Tuke's own references to his revisions in his preface, seem to make it clear that they were not considerable in number or amount. The passages in rime are numerous. The following examples will serve to illustrate the heroic nature of the play.

Porcio. The Man I love, is forc'd to fly my sight
And like a Parthian, kills me in his flight.
One whom I never saw, I must embrace,
Or else destroy the honour of my Race.
A Brother's Care, more cruel than his Hate,
O how perplex are the intrigues of Fate.

Note the following passage also of neat argument and repartee, so characteristic one would refer it to revision, had not Davenant already provided an exemplar:

Hen. They by their violence the Laws invade.
Car. But you, by your Revenge, the Laws degrade.
Hen. Honour obliges me to take Revenge.
Car. Honour's Justice, rightly understood;
Your Idol Honour's only heat of Blood.
Hen. Honour's Opinion, which rules all the World.
Car. Opinion, Henrique, only governs fools;
Reason the Wise, and Truly Valiant rules.
Hen. Reason's Opinion, for every one,
Stamps Reason on his own Opinion.
Car. Then by your argument, when People joyn
In making Laws, because they all Opine,
Laws are Reasonable, and bind us all.
Hen. Curse on your Sophistry, to treat a Friend
With Figures that's raging in a Fever.

Octavio says in Act V.

My Life and Death was uniform; as I
Liv'd firm to Love and Honour, so I die.

Similarly characteristic is the following elocutionary passage on friendship in Act V:

Friendship's a specious Name, made to deceive
Those, whose good Nature tempts them to believe;
The traffique of good Offices 'mongst Friends
Moves from our selves, and in our selves it ends.
When Competition brings us to the test,
Then we find Friendship in self-interest.

Antonio says

it must ne'er be said
That passion could deturn Antonio
From the strict Rules of Honour.

Again,

Ant. Henrique, 'tis true, but finding in my Breast
 An equal strife 'twixt Honour and Revenge,
 I do in just compliance with them both
 Preserve him from your Sword, to fall by mine.
Car. Brave Man, how nicely he does Honour weigh!
 Justice her self holds not the Scales more even.
Hen. My Honour suffers more, as yet, than yours,
 And I must have my share in the Revenge.
Ant. My Honour, Sir, is so sublim'd by Love,
 'Twill not admit Comparison or Rival.

Though I was not able to compare the later edition, revised in the heyday of the heroic period, with the first edition of 1663, it seems worth while to indicate here the possibility that Tuke anticipated Orrery and Dryden; if the heroic elements of the play prove to be due to revision, it remains as an interesting example of a piece refashioned to suit a prevailing taste and may be added in any case to the list of plays which are heroic or partly so. The possibility that the original version was heroic is the more interesting when it is considered that Tuke was a royalist and exile, and therefore familiar with current French literary modes, and further for the reason that it was written expressly by command of the King and adapted to his taste. Tuke's literary activity by the way, was not confined to play writing. His biographers tell us that he wrote a character of Charles I, and a treatise on the ordering and generation of green Colchester oysters.

In 1663 both parts of the *Siege of Rhodes* were printed. Stapleton's *Step-mother*, t. c., licensed December 26 and also produced according to Downes, I have not seen. An important question rises here regarding the possible production in this year of Orrery's *Mustapha*. This is Geneste's conclusion on the ground that Downes says Mrs. Davenport acted Roxolana, and this would have been possible only in this year, because of her betrayal. Downes, it is true, also says the play was new in 1665, but Geneste is inclined to credit the statement regarding Mrs. Davenport, and to believe that Downes has erred in supposing the production in 1665 to be the first production, though it would seem as if he might as readily have erred in regard to the person taking the part of Roxolana. The point is worth examining, as, if *Mustapha* was not produced before 1665 in accordance with the usual view, he was not the first to produce a genuine heroic play with spoken dia-

logue. Some additional evidences, of a sort, can be adduced in support of Geneste's conclusion. Orrery's *Henry V* was acted in 1664. If *Mustapha* was first produced in 1665, *Henry V* would be the first play of Orrery's to have public representation. But Dryden, in the *Essay of Dramatick Poesy*, speaking of the public acceptance of rimed plays, says that "no serious plays written since the king's return have been more kindly received by them, than The Siege of Rhodes, the *Mustapha*, The Indian Queen, and Indian Emperor." The order is significant as presumably one of time, and the *Mustapha* is placed before the *Indian Queen* given in 1664. Had *Henry V* been the first of Orrery's performed, Dryden, one would suppose, would have mentioned it in place of *Mustapha*, for he is speaking of plays acted and receiving public acceptance, and the use of a chronologic order would appear inevitable. If mere courtesy or deference dictated placing a play of Orrery's before a play written by his brother-in-law and himself and one of his own, *Henry V* would have served as well, and would have been in proper chronologic order. There is no apparent reason for passing over *Henry V* for a play more recent, the *Mustapha*, for *Henry V* was extremely successful. "To the new play, at the Duke's house, of 'Henry the Fifth;'" writes Pepys, August 13th, 1664, "a most noble play written by my Lord Orrery; wherein Betterton, Harris, and Ianthe's parts are most incomparably wrote and done, and the whole play the most full of height and raptures of wit and sense that ever I heard." Dr. Clerke did not think highly of it together with others selected by Davenant (see Pepys, February 13, 1666-7), but he had an unrepresented play of his own in his pocket. Compare also Pepys, Aug. 10, 1667. The great success of *Mustapha*, the fact that it was presented before the Court, may of course have counted with Dryden, but one finds it difficult not to regard the list as chronologic.

Also, when Dryden dedicated the *Rival Ladies* to Orrery in 1664, he indicates knowledge of more than one play of Orrery's in saying that he is fortified in his use of rime by Orrery's own use of it. It is not of course certain that the plays referred to included *Mustapha*, as *Henry V* certainly was, but it is probable. Such a reference

does not, of course, imply necessarily public performance, and it is certainly strange, if *Mustapha* had actually been performed the year before in 1663, that Dryden should not have made a complimentary reference to the actual presentation, unless possibly some mischance attended the performance. Dryden does make what seems to be a reference to public presentation as follows: "Where my reasons cannot prevail, I am sure your Lordship's example must." This can have force only if it refers to public presentation and its effect on the public. But the remark may refer merely to *Henry V*. This was given August 13th, and if Dryden's *Rival Ladies* was printed before that date, its reference would be to the forthcoming production, and it would be easy to understand why no specific compliment was paid in regard to its success.

The point is raised simply because of Geneste's suggestion. On the whole the evidence in support of it has little weight. The likelihood is that Downes was in error regarding Mrs. Davenport's having played Roxolana. Assuming the usual view then to be correct, it follows that the first heroic play publicly produced after the operatic *Siege of Rhodes* was the *Indian Queen* of Howard and Dryden which was played in January some months before Orrery's *Henry V* in August. This fact has certainly an important bearing on the question of Orrery's influence. Howard and Dryden may certainly have been familiar with Orrery's plays before production; nothing would have been more likely. But why force the facts and suppose they were led by his plays to produce a play some seven months before Orrery produced his first play? Why further suppose their play to have been influenced by his play or plays when nothing in it can be shown to be due to his influence—when, on the contrary, it bears the closest resemblance to the *Siege of Rhodes* in treatment, sentiment, effort to attain spectacular effect, and derives therefrom its use of operatic interludes? Holzhausen's claim for Orrery proves, in view of these facts, wholly untenable. All that he did was to lend his support to popular acceptance of the heroic mode.

In 1664 was also given according to Pepys (September 28th) the *General*, "Lord Broghill's second play." His authorship of this play

is doubtful; it was never acknowledged. Falkland's *Marriage Night* was printed, to be acted later in 1667; it is in blank verse and not heroic. Flecknoe's *Love's Kingdom*, pastoral t. c., was acted and printed, which Geneste calls a good play. According to Langbaine, this was a slight revision of *Love's Dominion*, published in 1653. *Pompey the Great* was translated by 'certain Persons of Honour,' including apparently Waller, Tuke, and the Earl of Dorset and Middlesex.

In 1665, Howard published his *Four New Playes*, containing, in addition to the *Indian Queen*, another heroic play, the *Vestal Virgin*, in which rime and repartee in couplets are frequently used. Crowne published a romance, *Pandion and Amphigenia, or the History of the Coy Lady of Thesalia*. In April Orrery's *Mustapha* was given, to be repeated at Court in October of the following year. And in May, the *Indian Emperor*, Dryden's independent work, was acted with enthusiastic applause, and the reign of the heroic play, in the hands of its great master, had begun.

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oi IN EUSTACHE DESCHAMPS.

A satisfactory explanation of the loss of the labial element in the diphthong *oi* in certain words in French is still wanting. Even with the data now available, the bald statement of Darmesteter and Hatzfeld in their manual, *Le Seizième Siècle en France*, seems somewhat misleading: "Ce second changement, qui date du seizième siècle, consiste à remplacer *ouè* par *è*." (7th ed., p. 212.) Nyrop in his *Gram. Hist.* (vol. I, p. 144) is more satisfactory when he says: "On trouve déjà des traces de cette simplification au XIII^e siècle (l'Élégie hébraïque de 1288 donne *avet*, *apelet*); mais elle n'acquiert d'importance qu'au XVI^e siècle, où elle devient générale, etc." Metzke in *Herrig's Archiv* (vol. VI, p. 63) and Rossmann in *Romanische Forschungen* (vol. I, p. 169) give several examples of this simplification in the thirteenth century even, but it would seem that the usage in this particular of Eustache

Deschamps, doubtless the most prolific poet of the fourteenth century, has escaped notice. In the comparatively few cases in which *oi* does not rime with itself, setting aside for a moment the words in which *oi* is followed by a nasal, it is with few exceptions in words which in modern French have *ai* (è) for older *oi*. A study of his poetry shows the following cases in which *oi*, not followed by a nasal, does not rime with itself, quoting from his *Œuvres Complètes* published by the Société des Anciens Textes Français.

Vol. I, p. 77, *destroisse* (= *détresse*) : *lesse* (= *laisse*).

Vol. I, p. 92, *voirre* (= *verre*) : *guerre*.

" " 227, " " : *desserre*.

" " 310, *ennuy* : *nullui* : *sui* : *croy* : *apercoi* : *autrui*.

Vol. II, p. 194, *voirre* (= *verre*) : *enquerre*.

" " 232, " " : *terre*.

" " 300, *nouvelles* : *estailles*.

Vol. III, p. 95, *sès* (= *sec*) : *Anglès*.

" " 94, *maroys* (= *marais*) : *fais* (= *faix*).

Vol. III, p. 213, *estaille* : *estincelle*.

Vol. IV, p. 130, *fès* (= *faix*) : *Anglès*.

" " 301, *moys* : *fraiz* (= *mois* : *frais*).

Vol. V, p. 48, *Anglois* : *François* : *fais* (= *fait*) : *fais* (= *faix*) : *frois* (= *froid*) : *pres*.

Vol. V, pp. 79-80, *Calays* : *Anglois*.

" " 408, *traye* : *monnoye*.

Vol. VI, p. 193, *lays* (*gens*) : *harnays*.

" " 229, *mès* (= *mais*) : *harnès*.

" " 40, *voirre* : *erre*.

" " 284, *près* : *harnès*.

" " 59, *soir* : *sor* (*de quoi je sor*).

Vol. VII, p. 110, *harnois* : *frais* : *mauvais*.

" " 265, *harnois* : *jamais*.

" " 335, *voirre* : *guerre*.

Vol. VIII, p. 60, *Sermoise* : *aise*.

Vol. IX, p. 270, *Ulixès* : *Anglès*.

The rime *soir* : *sor* is evidently archaic, dating from the time that *oi* was a falling diphthong. The occurrence in but one ballad of the rime *ui* : *oi* would indicate that the pronunciation *oi* was old at the time of Deschamps, though the few cases in which French *ui* is written *oi* riming with *oi* < *e*, as for example in vol. II, p. 44, *coy* : *annoy* where the regular Champagne form of *ennui* is found, would further indicate that the

older pronunciation was not yet entirely obsolete. Aside from these rimes, there are only three words *estailles*, *frois*, *moys*, which have kept without hesitation the labial element in the pronunciation of *oi* to-day. That *froid* was pronounced *fred* two centuries later, the writers of the sixteenth century attested. It is interesting to note the form *frais* in two of the examples quoted, as if it might be that the poet had in mind the form *frois* rather than *fres*, the writing *frais* being mentioned by Darmesteter as characterizing the orthography of the sixteenth century (*Le Seizième Siècle*, p. 201). *Sermoise* is evidently the *Sermaise* of to-day, and further strengthens the supposition that the labial element in *oi* was frequently neglected in the pronunciation of Deschamps, and most persistently in the words in which it is lost in Modern French, as the repeated notation *Anglès* would indicate.

As for *oi* + nasal, it also rimes usually with itself but occasionally with *ai*, *ei* + nasal, as in vol. I, p. 171, *point* : *vaint* (*PUNCTUM* : *VINCIT*). The interesting point here, is the frequent appearance of the forms *moins*, *avoine* and twice the form *foing* (= *foin*), all of which, according to Darmesteter's *Gram. Hist.*, vol. I, p. 147, did not appear in French till the end of the fifteenth century. They may be an indication of the Burgundian origin of Deschamps, though Meyer-Lübke would not attribute *moins* to this cause. *Moins* and *avoine*, however, as when written *meins*, *aveine*, rime with *-ain*, *-aine*; cf. vol. VII, p. 79 *avoine* : *maine*, and vol. I, p. 105 *moins* : *mains*. *Foin* is not, I believe, found in rime : vol. IV, p. 298 "*ne foing n'aveine*" (: *sepmain*).

The same remarks may be made about "*I'n mouillée*" and its effect upon the preceding vowel as are made upon it in the sixteenth century by Darmesteter (§ 71, p. 220): cf. vol. III, p. 27, *ressoigne* : *besongne*; vol. III, p. 63, *besoingne* : *tesmoingne*; vol. IV, p. 134, *poine* (= *peine*) : *praingne*.

The only addition that should be made is to note the more frequent writing of the *n* before the *g*.

No case of *oil'* in rime has been found.

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TURTELTAUBE.

In the third volume of *Altdeutsche Wälder* (1816) Jacob Grimm published an article entitled "Die Sage von der Turteltaube." This study was not reprinted, curiously enough, in his *Kleinere Schriften* (6 vols., 1864-1882), although these, pursuant to a German custom which unfortunately still prevails, contain the very sweeping of his minor utterances. For the broom of the German editor like that of the crossing-sweeper is thorough, and the activity of either is apt to result in some tidy piles of waste.

The article opens by calling attention to the turtledove as type and symbol of inconsolable widowhood. From the earliest Pagan times the bird has seemed in popular lore, as in conscious literature, to represent despairing sadness. It is, then, to be expected that in the natural history of the Middle Ages we would find the activity of the turtledove romantically widened and deepened by the addition of new traits indicative of sorrow. Thus, when we turn to the *Physiologus* and to the *Liber de natura rerum* in their various redactions; when we study ornithology in Mediæval aviary or bestiary, or in the anecdote or sermon-apologue drawn from them, we discover that the turtledove, mourning for its lost mate, seeks the solitary places of the earth for its habitation, rests upon no green branch, and drinks from no clear spring, but chooses the dead limb for its home and muddies with beak or feet the water which is to satisfy its thirst. And popular song includes the turtledove among its sympathizing circle of *Waldvögelein*, together with the swallow and the lark, the wood-dove and the nightingale, the crow, the owl and the raven.

Now the pathetic fallacy of the modern poet is often right handily served by the sentimental imagery of the Mediæval lyricist. The latter-day egoism of Eichendorff and Wilhelm Müller, which projects its petty joys and sorrows into the envying world of nature, is akin to the earlier artlessness of the Mediæval poet who translated the visible universe in terms of his own experience. It is without surprise, then, that we find in the verses of both these modern poets the image of the turtledove upon the very pedestal of grief it occupied long centuries before. For in no new

or better way could concretion of the concept of sorrow be poetically attained.

In the well-known Volkslied which begins *Es stet ein lind in jenem tal*,¹ the twelfth and thirteenth stanzas contain a reference to the sorrowing turtledove which finds certain strange correspondences :

Und kan er mir nicht werden
Der liebste auf diser erden,
So will ich mir brechen meinen müte
Gleich wie das turtelteublein tüt.

Es setzt sich auf ein dürrer ast,
Das irret weder laub noch gras,
Und meidet das brünnlin küle
Und trinket das waszer trübe.

First of all in a Danish folksong :²

Saa sørgelig vil jeg leve min tiid,
Alt som en turteldue ;
Hun hviler aldrig paa grønne grene,
Hendes been ere alt saa møde,
Hun drikker aldrig det vand saa reent
Men rorer det forst med foder.

And in his *Griechenlied* entitled *Die Mainottenwitwe* Wilhelm Müller has employed the same imagery, which seems a direct borrowing from either of the earlier songs on the part of the modern poet, especially as we know he was elsewhere prone to just such imitation.³

Und im grauen Witwenhemde
Schleich ich durch den grünen Wald,
Nicht zu lauschen, wo im Dickicht
Nachtgallenschlag erschallt.

Nein, um einen Baum zu suchen
Ohne Blüt' und ohne Blatt,
Den die Turteltaubenwitwe
Sich zum Sitz ersehen hat.

Und dabei die frische Quelle,
Die sie trübe macht zuvor,
Eh' sie trinkt und eh' sie badet,
Seit sie ihren Mann verlor.

¹ First found in this version in the MS. songbook of Ottilia Fenchel (1592). Uhland, *Volkslieder* no. 116. Compare with this the 10th and 11th stanzas of *Unter der Linde* (Hoffmann, *Findlinge. Weim. Jahrb.*, vol. v. p. 225). Practically all the modern versions of the song which have come from the *Zeitvertreiber* by way of the *Wunderhorn* do not contain the turtledove stanzas.

² Translated by W. Grimm in his *Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Märchen*. Heidelberg, 1811.

³ Cf. my *Wilhelm Müller and the German Volkslied*, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, vols. II, III.

The matter first takes on a new aspect, however, when we learn that Müller's *Mainottenwitwe* was adapted from a Modern Greek song of like title, which contains the very picture of the dove as drawn in the German and Danish *Volkslieder*. The original of this Greek song⁴ I have been unable to find in any one of a score of collections of Modern Greek popular songs which I have carefully hunted through. The German translation of it, as printed by Grimm, follows:

Nein, auf keinem grünem Aste
Werd' ich niemals ruhn, ich trinke
Nimmer aus dem Bache Labung;
Gleich der treuen Turteltaube,
Wann verstorben ihr Gemahl.

The theme of the mourning turtledove is in many Greek *tragoudia*, and it may be well enough to present further the version from Morosi,⁵ which is near enough to Müller's verse to be its source. For the sake of convenient comparison I give it in the German version of Meyer:⁶

Die Turteltaube schweift umher allein,
Fehlt ihr Gefährte dem gewohnten Ast;
Sie flieht der andern Vögel muntre Reihn
Und sucht auf grünem Zweige keine Rast;
Das Waszer, das sie trinkt, musz trübe sein—
So düstre Trauer hält ihr Herz umfaszt.

So Müller may have had his theme from the German or the Danish *Volkslied*, but did have it undoubtedly from the Greek,⁷ and here the story would be at an end were it not that Eichendorff had made use of the same motive in his *Turteltaube und Nachtigall*:

Bächlein, das so kühle rauschet,
Tröstest alle Vögelein,
Nur das Turteltäubchen trauert,
Weil's verwitwet und allein.

⁴Grimm states (*Alt. Wälder* III, 40): Das Original erscheint vielleicht bald in einer Sammlung neugriechischer Volkslieder, die reich an epischen Zügen sind. Obige Uebersetzung fand ich in irgend einer deutschen Zeitschrift vermuthlich nach dem englischen.

⁵Giuseppe Morosi, *Studi sui dialetti greci della Terra d'Otranto*, Lecce, 1870, no. 119.

⁶Gustav Meyer, *Griechische Volkslieder in deutscher Nachbildung*. Stuttgart, 1890, p. 87.

⁷In Müller's *Griechenlieder* and elsewhere he avowedly adapted known Greek originals. Cf. *Gedichte von W. M.*, ed. Max Müller, Leipzig, 1868, vol. II, 88-134. *Neugriechische Volkslieder*, gesammelt u. herausgegeben v. C. Fauriel, übersetzt v. W. M. 2 parts, Leipzig, 1825. *Journal of Germanic Philology*, vol. III, pp. 37, 39.

Nachtigallenmännchen draussen⁸
Schmettert so verlockend drein:
Mir vertraue, süsse Fraue,
Will dein Lieb, dein Liebster sein!

"Böser, lasz die falschen Lieder!
Ruh' auf keinem Zweig, der blüht,
Lasz auf keiner Au mich nieder,
Die von schönen Blumen glüht."

"Wo ich finde eine Quelle
Helle in dem grünen Haus,
Mit dem Schnabel erst die Welle
Trüb' ich, eh' ich trink' daraus."

"Einsam soll man mich begraben,
Lass mich trauernd hier allein,
Will nicht Trost, nicht Lust mehr haben,
Nicht dein Weib, noch Liebchen sein!"

One might now fairly suppose some connection between these songs of Eichendorff and Müller—I have elsewhere called attention to numerous correspondences between these two poets—and trust to a proper dating of Eichendorff's poem, to establish his precedence or sequence in development of the theme. But Eichendorff took his song from a well-known Spanish *romance*:⁹

Fontefrida, Fontefrida,
Fontefrida y con amor,
Do todas las avezicas
Van tomar consolación,
Sino es la tortolica,
Que está viuda y con dolor!

Por ahí fuera á pasar
El traidor del ruiñeñor.
Las palabras que el decia,
Llenas son de traición:

"Si tu quisieses, Señora,
Yo seria tu servidor."

"¡Vete de ahí, enemiga,
Malo, falso, engañador!"

⁸It is interesting to note that the nightingale in certain Modern Greek songs has taken over the rôle of the turtledove in drinking muddled water when mourning: see, for instance, Kind, *Anthologie neugriechischer Volkslieder*, Leipzig, 1861, pp. 175, 177.

⁹My attention was called to this fact by my friend, Dr. Fritz Beckmann, of the University of Minnesota. The *romance* may be found in many collections, notably *Silva de romances viejos*, publicada por Jacobo Grimm, Vienna, 1815, p. 310; Böhl de Faber, *Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas*, Hamburg, 1821, vol. I, no. 128; Depping y Galiano, *Romancero castellano*, Leipzig, 1844, vol. II, p. 414; Agustin Duran, *Romancero General*, Madrid, 1851, vol. II, p. 448; *Cancionero General de Valencia* (1511), fol. 133.

Que ni poso en ramo verde,
Ni en prado que tenga flor ;
Que si hallo el agua clara,
Turbia la bebia yo."

"Que no quiera haber marido,
Porque hijos no haya, no ;
No quiera placer con ellos,
Ni menos consolación.
¡ Déjame, triste, enemiga,
Malo, falso, mal traidor !
Que no quiera ser tu amiga,
Ni casar contigo yo."

So we find a theme clothed in almost identical words in German, Danish, Spanish and Modern Greek popular song, copied by two contemporary German romanticists who exercised no little influence upon each other. This fact should serve as a warning to those source-hunting *coraces* who will have it that any one thing is copied from any one other like it, if the latter but precede in point of time. If Eichendorff's song should but come last in appearance, that is, and did we know but a single one of his probable sources, we might ascribe the theme he uses either to German or Danish Volkslied, or to Müller's imitation, as we chanced to hit upon it, either to Greek or Spanish song. And this is not all. There is small doubt but that other close analogies exist in other fields. To be sure, I can find none such in English, French or Italian popular poetry, though I have hunted far and wide, but the merest chance may bring to light at any time further undeniable analogies from these or other sources. It is, indeed, with this hope, that I print these notes in their present shape.

Can we suppose that it is naught but coincidence of observation on the part of widely different races which has developed such startling similarity of theme as that the turtledove mourning her lost mate sits on no green branch and refuses to drink any but water deliberately muddied with the beak?¹⁰

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¹⁰ Since writing the above, Mr. Pietsch has called my attention to the theme of the mourning turtledove in Old French and Italian popular poetry. I shall content myself with quoting two versions—one from D'Ancona, *La poesia popolare italiana*, the other from Haupt, *Französische Volkslieder*—and merely refer to the considerable litera-

SAMSON PINE.

In connection with the recent performance of Wagner's "Parsifal" in New York it may be of interest to notice the part taken by an obscure Jew in the redaction of one of the German forms of the story of the Holy Grail. Wolfram von Eschenbach (1170-1220) wrote his "Parzival" circa 1203. More than a century after Wolfram's death it was determined to amplify the German version by means of the French forms of the tale, and between 1331 and 1336 Claus Wisse and Philipp Colin, the latter a goldsmith of Strassburg, did this work. Herr Ulrich von Rapolstein, their liege lord, defrayed the costs of the undertaking. In their translations from French into German Wisse and Colin were assisted by Samson Pine, a Jew of Alsace, who spoke both languages fluently. Even at this time Alsatian Jews were familiar with the languages, manners and customs of both France and Germany. As completed, Wisse and Colin's poem is twice the length of Wolfram's.

The Bibliotheca Casanatensis ms. (A 1, 19; parchment; 182 leaves folio, 4 columns on a leaf) of the Wisse-Colin poem contains a superscription in red ink which reads as follows:

"Nv geswigen wir kvnig artuses hie. vnd sagent von hern gawane. wie der zvm ersten male zvm grale kam. vñ ist ovch daz von welsche zu diutsche braht [by Samson Pine's help]. Des sinn mer ist danne der diutsche par-

ture of the subject contained in the former of these two books. Interesting also are the suggestive notes in Hertz, *Parzival*², Stuttgart, 1898, p. 475; D'Ancona in *Rassegna bibliografica della letteratura italiana*, vol. x (1902), p. 12; Goldstaub-Wendringer, *Ein toscanisch-venezianischer Bestiarius* (Halle, 1892), pp. 429 f.

D'Ancona, p. 191:

La tortora che ha perso la compagna
Fà una vita molto dolorosa ;
Va in un fumicello, e vi si bagna,
E beve di quell' acqua torbidosà.

Haupt, p. 12:

Au bois de dueil je m'en iray. . .
En ressemblant la turturelle,
Qui a le cœur triste et marry ;
Quand elle a perdu sa paville,
Sur branche sieche va a mourir.

The French song makes no mention of muddying the water, but possibly another discoverable version may.

zefal. der nv lange getihtet ist. vñ alles daz hie nach geschriben stat. daz ist ouch parcfal. vnd ist von welsche zv diutsche braht. Das geschah do man zalte von gotes gebvrte drizen hundert iar. vñ drizzig iar. in dem sehsten iare." ¹

The Donaueschingen MS. (97; Barack; Or R 37, 9; parchment; double columns; 320 leaves folio) has been published by Karl Schorbach as *Parcfal von Claus Wisse und Philipp Colin* (1331-1336): *Ergänzung der Dichtung Wolframs von Eschenbach*, Strassburg, 1888. In this we note, col. 854, 28: ²

"ein jude ist sampson pine genant
der het sine zit ovch wol bewant,
an dirre ouenture.
er tet vnz die stüre:
waz wir zvo rimen hant bereit,
do het er unz daz túsch geseit
von den ouenturen allen gar.
ich wúnche, daz er wol gear
als ein iude noch sinre e [by his religion]
er enbegerte anders nüt me." ³

A portion of this, translated into New High German, reads:

"Ein Jude, Samson Pine,—verwandte Zeit und Müh'
An diesen Abenteuern—und thät' uns viel beisteuern.
Er hat sie deutsch uns übersetzt,—wir haben's dann in
Reim gesetzt." ⁴

Dr. Guedemann ⁵ maintains that the name Pine

¹ Adelbert Keller, *Romvart*, Mannheim, 1844, pp. 648, 649.

² San Marte, *Ueber den Bildungsgang der Gral- und Parzival-Dichtung in Frankreich und Deutschland*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Halle, 1890, vol. XXII, p. 289.

³ In the Bibl. Casan. MS., leaf 182, line 19 et seq. (Keller, l. c., p. 684), we have:

"Ouch ein ivde ist sampson genant
Der het sin zit hie wol bewant
An dirre aventure
Er tet vns die sture
Waz wir zu rimen han bereit
Daz hat er vnz zv ducze [Deutsch, German] geseit
Vnd die aenture alle gar
Ich wunsche daz er wol gear. . . .

⁴ G. Karpeles, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1886, vol. II, p. 709; *idem*, *Jewish Literature and Other Essays*, Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 35, 87; Ad. Kohut, *Geschichte der deutschen Juden*, Berlin, n. d., p. 98.

⁵ Guedemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Deutschland während des XIV. und*

(Jewish writers erroneously spell it P-n-i-e) is derived from Peine, a city near Brunswick, the seat of an old Jewish congregation.

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DIE QUELLE DES RATTENFÄNGER- LIEDS IN *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

Die Quelle des Gedichtes *Der Rattenfänger von Hameln, Wunderhorn*, I, ist bisher noch nicht ermittelt worden. Birlinger und Crecelius (Wiesbaden, 1874-76) vermuten, das Rattenfängerlied im *Wunderhorn* sei entweder von Arnim oder von Brentano verfasst. Brentano hat sich nun allerdings eingehend mit der Sage beschäftigt, denn er giebt noch eine andere Fassung der Sage in seinen Schriften IV, S. 58; trotzdem kann weder er noch Arnim aus weiterhin angeführten Gründen der Verfasser des Wunderhornliedes sein. Möglicherweise aber mag Brentano ein älteres Gedicht für das *Wunderhorn* zugestutzt haben.

Erk und Boehme sprechen eine andere Ansicht über die Quelle des Gedichtes aus. Sie glauben, es sei ein Drehorgellied. Derartige Lieder gehen aber meist auf ältere Fassungen zurück, die Quellenfrage wäre also durch diese Vermutung nicht gelöst.

Das betreffende Gedicht im *Wunderhorn* lautet:

- (1) Wer ist der bunte Mann im Bilde?
Er führet Böses wohl im Schilde,
Er pfeift so wild und so bedacht;
Ich hätt mein Kind ihm nicht gebracht!
- (2) In Hameln fochten Mäus und Ratzen
Bei hellem Tage mit den Katzen;
Es war viel Noth, der Rath bedacht,
Wie Andres Kunst zuweg gebracht.
- (3) Da fand sich ein der Wundermann,
Mit bunten Kleidern angethan,
Pfiß Ratz und Mäus zusamm ohn Zahl,
Ersäuft sie in der Weser all.

XV. *Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1888, p. 159, n. 4. See too, Karl Goedeke, *Deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed., Dresden, 1871, p. 738; *idem*, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, 2nd ed., Dresden, 1884, vol. I, bk. 3, sec. 80, s. 10, p. 259.

- (4) Der Rath will ihm dafür nicht geben,
Was ihm ward zugesagt so eben ;
Sie meinten, das ging gar zu leicht
Und wär wohl gar ein Teufelsstreich.
- (5) Wie hart er auch den Rath besprochen,
Sie dräuten seinem bösen Pochen ;
Er konnt zuletzt vor der Gemein
Nur auf dem Dorfe sicher sein.
- (6) Die Stadt von solcher Noth befreiet
Im grossen Dankfest sich erfreuet.
Im Betstuhl sassen alle Leut,
Es läuten alle Glocken weit.
- (7) Die Kinder spielten in den Gassen,
Der Wundermann durchzog die Strassen ;
Er kam und piff zusamm geschwind
Wohl auf einhundert schöne Kind.
- (8) Der Hirt sie sah zur Weser gehen,
Und Keiner hat sie je gesehen ;
Verloren sind sie an dem Tag
Zu ihrer Eltern Weh und Klag.
- (9) Im Strome schweben Irrlicht nieder,
Die Kindlein frischen drin die Glieder
Dann pfeifet er sie wieder ein,
Für seine Kunst bezahlt zu sein.
- (10) Ihr Leute, wenn Ihr Gift wollt legen,
So hütet doch die Kinder gegen !
Das Gift ist selbst der Teufel wohl,
Der uns die lieben Kinder stohl.

Die Herausgeber des *Wunderhorns* (Bd. I, 1806) bezeichneten das Gedicht als "mündlich" überliefert. Gegen mündliche Überlieferung jedoch spricht die zu grosse Übereinstimmung im Wortlaute, welche zwischen dem Gedichte (*Wunderhorn*, Bd. I.) einerseits und älteren dichterischen Fassungen anderseits herrscht.

Was die letzteren betrifft, so haben wir zwei deutsche dichterische Behandlungen der Sage aus dem 16. Jahrhundert. Die eine befindet sich in einer handschriftlichen Hamelschen Reimchronik von Jobst Joh. Backhaus (nach 1589) geschrieben. Es giebt zwei Hss. dieser Chronik: die eine befindet sich in den Herr'schen Manuscripten, Pars II, die andere, eine spätere schlechtere Abschrift, im Staatsarchiv zu Hannover (Mscr. C. 24). Vgl. Dörries, "Der Rattenfänger von Hameln" (*Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen*, Jahrg. 1880) und O. Meinardus, "Der historische Kern der Hameler Rattenfängersage" (*ebd.*, Jahrg. 1882). (Hannover, Hahnsche Buchhandlung).

Die andere dichterische Fassung der Sage aus dem 16. Jahrhundert findet sich in Rollenhagens *Froschmeuseler* (wol vor 1570 entstanden, aber erst 1595 gedruckt). Vgl. die Ausgabe von K. Goedeke, *Deutsche Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 9, 1876, S. 182.

Die betreffende Stelle in der Reimchronik lautet:

- Allhie kundt man die losen Ratzen
Z. 20. So weinig durch Gift als auch Katzen
Vertreiben, darumb ward bedacht
Wie ein Kunst würdt zuweg gebracht,
Dadurch sie allesamt ertäuft
Und in der Weser gar erseuft ;
25. Biss sich herfant ein Wunderman
Mit bunten Kleidern angethan
Der pfiess die Mäuse zusamen all
Erseuft in der Weser allzumahl
Da man aber nicht woltd gar bezahlen
30. Wass ihm wardt zugesagt vormahln,
Wie hart er auch den Radt besprach
Der Stadt drewet sein Zorn und Rach,
Dass er heimlich für der Gemein
Nur auf dem Dorff kont sicher seyn.
35. Und eben umb dieselbig zeit
Johann und Paul feyrten die leuht,
Derhalben in den Kirchen sassen,
Wahr der Man wieder auff der Gassen,
Und führt mit sich hinaus geschwindt
40. Dreyssig und einhundert Kindt,
Zur Bungelosen Strassen heraus,
Hiess wol bezahlt die Katzen und Mausz,
Ueber den Berg Calvariae
(Das Halsgericht alda versteh)
45. Wurden sie verlohren an dem Tag
Mit ihrer Eltern Weh und Klag
Erschrecklich ist wohl dieser Fall.

Sieben weitere Zeilen folgen, die keine Ähnlichkeit mit den Zeilen des Wunderhornliedes haben.

In Rollenhagens *Froschmeuseler* lautet die betreffende Stelle im XIV. Kapitel, Buch III, Teil I (K. Goedeke a. a. O.) folgendermassen:

- Ein stat liegt in Westsachsen land
Z. 40. An der Weser, Hameln genant,
Dasselbst kont man die grossen ratzen
Weder durch gift oder durch katzen
Vertreiben. Darum ward bedacht,
Wie ein kunst würd zu weg gebracht,
45. Dardurch man sie alle könt teufen,
In dem Weserstrom gar erseufen.
Bis sich auch fand ein wunderman,
Mit bunten kleidern angetan ;
Der piff die meus zusamen all,
50. Erseuft sie im strom auf einmal.
Da man aber nicht gar wolt zalen

- Was ihm ward zugesagt vormalen,
 Wie hart er auch den rat besprach,
 Der stat dreuet sein zorn und rach,
 55. Das er heimlich für der gemein
 Nur auf dem dorf kont sicher sein.
 Und eben um dieselbe zeit
 Johann und Paul feirten die leut,
 Derhalben in der kirchen sassen.
 60. War der man wider auf der gassen
 Und fñrt mit sich hinaus geschwind
 Hundert und dreissig liebe kind,
 Die seiner pfeif folgten die stund
 Durch den Köpfenberg in den grund,
 65. Der als wasser vonander floss
 Und über sie alsamt zuschloss.
 Die aber noch so spet ankamen
 Und dies schrecklich wunder vernamen,
 Wie ihr gespieln giengen zu grund,
 70. Das man ihr keins mer sehen kunt
 Blieben bestehn im hinterhalt.
 Die eltern liefen und gruben bald,
 Weinten, riefen, fluchten und betten;
 Ihr kinder sie gern wieder hetten;
 75. Funden abr nichts auch bis auf heut.

Elf weitere Zeilen folgen, die von den Zeilen des Wunderhornliedes verschieden sind.

Ausser diesen beiden dichterischen Fassungen der Sage aus dem 16. Jahrhundert giebt es ein Lied, das sich in einem Fliegenden Blatte aus dem Jahre 1622 befindet. Dieses Fliegende Blatt ist nach F. Jostes (*Der Rattenfänger von Hameln*, Bonn, 1895) im Besitze des Herrn Weinhändlers Pflümer in Hameln. Jostes hat die oben erwähnten Fassungen des 16. Jahrhunderts mit dem Liede des Fliegenden Blattes verglichen. Diese drei Fassungen der Sage stimmen oft wörtlich überein, besonders die Reimchronik und der *Froschmeuseler*. Vergleicht man nun das Gedicht des *Wunderhorns* mit diesen drei ältern Fassungen der Sage, so sieht man, dass das Wunderhorngedicht sich in der Beschreibung des Vorfalles und im Wortlaut hauptsächlich an die Reimchronik anschliesst.

Die folgende Tabelle giebt die betreffenden Zeilen der drei älteren Bearbeitungen der Sage und des Gedichtes im *Wunderhorn* an, welche genau übereinstimmen oder ähnlich sind.

Wunderhorn.	Reimchronik.	Froschmeuseler.	Fl. Bl. (1622).
2, Str. 1	Z. 19	Z. 41	Z. 51
2	20	42	52
3	21	43	53
4	22	44	54
3, Str. 1	25	47	57

Wunderhorn.	Reimchronik.	Froschmeuseler.	Fl. Bl. (1622).
2	26	48	58
3	27	49	59
4	28	50	60
4, Str. 1	29	51	61
2	30	52	62
5, Str. 1	31	53	63
2	32	54	64
3	33	55	—
4	34	56	—
6, Str. 2	36	58	66
3	37	59	67
7, Str. 2	38	60	68
3	39	61	69
4	40	62	70
8, Str. 2	45	—	—
3	46	73	—

Der Anfang, wie auch das Ende, ist in jeder dieser Fassungen verschieden. Dörries a. a. O. und O. Meinardus a. a. O., p. 45, haben bereits die betreffenden Stellen in der Reimchronik und im *Froschmeuseler* verglichen. Meinardus bemerkt darüber: "Backhaus besingt die Schlacht bei Sedemünde; er schliesst mit folgendem frommen Wunsche:—

Godt gebe dass Friedt und einigkeit
 Darinnen bleib zu jederzeit
 Und Gottes Wordt lauter und klar
 Gepredigt werde offenbahr."

Nach einer aus 18 Zeilen bestehenden Einleitung geht Backhaus auf die Sage selbst ein. Am Rande steht *Fabula*.

"Bei Rollenhagen bildet die Sage nur eine Episode; sie soll den Fröschen zeigen, auf welche Weise man die Mäuse am besten vernichten könne." Die oben angeführten Zeilen 39 und 40 bilden den Anfang der Sage. Am Schlusse erwähnt Rollenhagen die Tötung der Kinder zu Bethel (2. *Buch der Könige* 2, 23-24), und schliesst dann die Hameler Sage mit folgenden Zeilen:

Z. 85. Dies geschach, als die zal im jar
 Zwölf hundert vier und achtzig war.

Die erste Strophe des Wunderhornliedes bezieht sich direkt oder indirekt auf das Bild, welches sich in dem Fenster der Stiftskirche St. Bonifaz zu Hameln befindet. Hier war zur Erinnerung an die unglückliche Schlacht bei Sedemünde (1259) der Auszug der Kriegsschar dargestellt. F. Jostes a. a. O. giebt Folgendes über die Deu-

tung des Bildes an: "Die Hauptperson des Bildes, der gegenüber die Krieger den späteren Geschlechtern als Kinder erscheinen konnten, war in sehr satten Farben gemalt, was den Anlass dazu gab, später das bunte Gewand des Pfeifers immer stark zu betonen. Ob diese Hauptperson den Anführer darstellte oder einen Spielmann, lässt sich nicht entscheiden."

"Im Jahre 1540 wurde Hameln protestantisch, die Seelenmessen hörten auf. Um das Bild wob die Sage ihre Fäden, aber dass es einen "exitus" aus dem Ostthore im Jahre 1259 darstelle, mit dem ein grosses Unglück verbunden sei, das hielt man fest. Die Volksdeutung des Bildes in der Stadt dringt nach auswärts, wird dort mit einer Malediktionsgeschichte unter dem Einflusse einer Tänzersage verbunden, dann nachweislich zuerst von Joh. Weier (1576) schriftlich fixiert und verbreitet sich so in bestimmter Fassung mit seinem Werke in deutschen wie in fremden Landen."

"Unterdessen war in Hameln bereits an der Sage ein lebhaftes Interesse erwacht. Man verewigte sie im Jahre 1556 in einer Inschrift am Neuthor, in welcher der Zauberer als 'magus,' noch nicht als 'tibicen' bezeichnet wird."

Die Eintragung in ein altes Passional sowie in Urkunden des 14. Jahrhunderts erklärt Jostes für Fälschungen.

Da nun die Sage sich erst nach dem Jahre 1540, d. h. nach dem Aufhören der Seelenmessen, an das Bild zu Hameln knüpfen konnte, so können wir die Quelle des Liedes "Der Rattenfänger von Hameln," *Wunderhorn*, Bd. I, nicht vor dieser Zeit suchen. Von den uns bekannten dichterischen Aufzeichnungen der Sage ist die Reimchronik die älteste. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass Rollenhagen, dessen Werk erst im Jahre 1595 gedruckt wurde, aus der Reimchronik schöpfte, die im Jahre 1589 erschien. Möglicherweise mag er ein Volkslied gekannt haben, welches dann auch Backhaus in die Reimchronik aufgenommen haben muss.

Das Rattenfängerlied im *Wunderhorn*, Bd. I, zeigt grössere Ähnlichkeit mit der Fassung der Reimchronik als mit derjenigen des *Froschmeuslers*, vgl. besonders Str. 8, Z. 2, 3 des Gedichtes im *Wunderhorn* mit den entsprechenden Zeilen der anderen Fassungen. Man muss daher annehmen, der Abschreiber des Wunderhornliedes

habe die Reimchronik benutzt und das Lied dann zugestutzt, oder aber er habe sich eines Fliegenden Blattes bedient, das entweder die Vorlage für die Fassung der Reimchronik war oder auf der Reimchronik fusste.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

El Diablo Cojuelo por Luis Vélez de Guevara. Reproducción de la edición príncipe de Madrid, 1641, por ADOLFO BONILLA Y SAN MARTÍN. Vigo: Librería de Eugenio Krapf, 1902.

El Libro de Patronio ó El Conde Lucanor, compuesto por el Príncipe don JUAN MANUEL en los años de 1328-1329. Reproducido conforme al texto del códice del Conde Puñonrostro. Segunda edición reformada. Vigo: Librería de Eugenio Krapf, 1902.

Beautiful specimens of the typographer's art are both these books. Printed on excellent paper, wide of margin and with clear type, they even surpass the same publisher's edition of the *Celestina*, noted in these columns some time ago.

The lack of a good edition of *El Diablo Cojuelo* has been long deplored. A comparison of the most available imprints of it with the first edition of 1641, made in the Seminary of Professor Baist years ago, showed how poor the current versions were. Señor Bonilla has done a good service to students of Spanish Literature in editing this new edition, and he has brought to his task the sound scholarship for which he is well known. He has given us an almost exact reproduction of the princeps of 1641, correcting obvious errors (which are noted at the foot of the page) and dividing the work into paragraphs for convenience of reading. To the end of the volume is subjoined an explanation of difficult phrases and words. These notes, which are a precious addition to the work, show the editor's wide and accurate reading. Sr. Bonilla says: "We have tried to err rather on the side of giving too much than giving too little," yet there are a number of passages remain-

ing in the text, which are not entirely clear—at least not to the writer—and upon which no comment is found. (In *mas ruido que la Bermuda*, the latter word is certainly = the Bermudas; for *velicomen* see *Romania*, Vol. 29, p. 375, 'del aleman *wilkommenbecher*', according to Menéndez Pidal. It is rather simply the German *wilkommen*, 'a drinking cup'). But the editor has cleared up a number of obscure passages and allusions and thrown some light on many others. *El Diablo Cojuelo* is by no means easy to read and we only wish Sr. Bonilla had erred a little more on the side of liberality. In his commentary he was aided somewhat by the notes that had been written by Sr. Duran at the request of the Spanish Academy in 1851, on account of 'certain doubts' possessed by one Piatnitzki, who was about to translate *El Diablo Cojuelo* into Russian. Sr. Duran, after completing his task as best he could, desired that others should put *la última mano* to the work, and a commission was appointed, which found nothing to add to what he had done, but which recommended "that the government (through which Piatnitzki's request had come) be advised how convenient it would be not to distract the Academy from its important labors by queries of this kind, which, in the present case, shewed a lamentable ignorance of the Castilian tongue," etc.

Piatnitzki's ignorance, however, is rather a matter for rejoicing, since it prompted Sr. Duran to give us of his great store of knowledge, of which Sr. Bonilla has here availed himself, although most sparingly, it must be confessed.

Among the questions discussed by the editor is: When was *El Diablo Cojuelo* written? He concludes, after weighing the evidence carefully, that it was surely finished before April, 1639. There is evidence to show that the seventh *tranco* was written between 1630 and 1631, but facts are also adduced proving that it could not have been finished till 1637, in which year a *certamen* was held at Madrid, of which Luis Vélez was president and in which he read a sonnet which he afterwards inserted in the ninth *tranco*. This *vejamen* is certainly of the greatest interest for the study of the origin of *El Diablo Cojuelo*. The *oración* which Luis Vélez held on that occasion and which he likewise introduced into his novel

(tenth *tranco*), has been preserved among the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nacional, and is given by Sr. Serrano y Sanz in the appendix to the edition of Sr. Bonilla, together with the *vejamen* read by D. Francisco de Rojas Zorilla in the Buen Retiro on February 21, 1637, from which *vejamen* of his friend Rojas the argument of Vélez's novel may have been taken, as the editor conjectures.¹ Sr. Bonilla also examines the relation of *El Diablo Cojuelo* to the *sueños* of Quevedo and other works, all of which is of exceeding interest, and concludes with a discussion of the adaptation by Le Sage (*Le Diable boiteux*), and the re-translation of this into Spanish, and the editor notes that there are Spanish editions of *Le Diable boiteux* which ascribe the text to Vélez de Guevara. It is, therefore, in part at least, with the object of rehabilitating Luis Vélez as the author of *El Diablo Cojuelo* that Sr. Bonilla issues his edition of this masterpiece.

Some additional notes to *El Diablo Cojuelo* have since been published in the 'Revista de Archivos' (April and May, 1902, p. 382). The attempt is there made to explain the phrase *Mula de Liñan*. Sr. Bonilla had conjectured, in his Spanish translation of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *History of Spanish Literature*, that the author of Avelaneda's continuation of *Don Quixote* is really Pedro Liñan de Riaza. Whatever may be said of the other attempts that have been made to identify the real author of this excellent continuation, which only falls short of the original—this one certainly does not lack probability. Liñan was one of the rare wits of his time and a great friend of Lope de Vega, who had somewhat of a score to settle with Cervantes. And, although what Sr. Bonilla adduces in support of his hypothesis does not much strengthen it, yet, as he says: *En materia de hipótesis licito es á qualquier cristiano hacer de su capa un sayo, como no salga de los linderos de lo razonable.*

For the other work noted at the head of this article,—the still more famous *Conde Lucanor* of Don Juan Manuel, we should feel no less grateful. Here Sr. Krapf, the printer of the work,

¹ Some of these documents had been previously published by Morel-Fatio, in his *L'Espagne au xvi^e et au xvi^e siècles*, pp. 614-620.

assumes also the rôle of editor, and he has acquitted himself of his nowise easy task in a manner most creditable. In the *Advertencia* he gives a very clear and succinct account of the various manuscripts of the *Conde Lucanor*, five in number, and also of the various editions that have appeared *hasta la fecha*.

The first printed edition, that of Argote de Molina (Sevilla, Hernando Diaz, 1575), of which I possess a copy, has been designated by Ticknor as "one of the rarest books in the world." The second, Madrid, 1642, is also of great rarity. The *princeps* of Argote de Molina was reprinted by Adalbert Keller at Leipzig, in 1839, but omitting both the preliminary and the supplementary matter. Gayangos next published it in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, taking as the basis of his text the Codex Gayangos (now in the Bibl. Nacional), but treating the text in a very arbitrary manner. Finally, four years ago (Leipzig, 1900) the lamented Hermann Knust, a scholar who had done so much for the history of early Spanish literature, resolved to publish a critical edition, which he did not live to finish, and which was issued after his death by A. Birch-Hirschfeld. In 1898 Sr. Krapf had published an edition of the *Conde Lucanor*, which, however, I have never seen, and now he publishes this new edition with all the excellence and skill in typography, for which his name is now so well known.

Since the appearance of the edition of 1898, the editor tells us, he has acquired possession of the manuscript formerly belonging to the Conde de Puñonrostro, one of the most valuable of all the codices of Don Juan Manuel, and which contains, besides the *Conde Lucanor*, several other important works, among which is the *Libro de los Assayamientos et Engaños de los Mugeres*, which was published, 'pero malisimamente,' by Comparetti in 1869 in his *Ricerche intorno al libro di Sindibad*, a book which has become very scarce. We hope Sr. Krapf may find an opportunity of publishing also this important text.

The editor describes in detail the *Códice Puñonrostro*, which seems to have suffered considerably at the beginning, and also shows lacunæ in various places. Nevertheless, while all the other manuscripts contain but fifty-one tales, this codex contains fifty-four.

Of the edition published by Sr. Krapf, he says: *Este trabajo es exclusivamente mio, sin que nadie intervenga en él.*

Both these publications of Sr. Krapf are excellent and deserve the warm encouragement of all students of Spanish.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL: *La leyenda del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor* (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, Band II), Dresden, 1903.

In this work the author of the *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* has given further proof of his skill in investigating the epic tradition of his native land. Ripe scholarship, patient industry, and the application of sane principles of editorship are characteristic of this present volume as they are of all the other works of the energetic young professor of the University of Madrid.

The earliest mention now to be found of the legend of the Abbot John of Montemayor is of the fourteenth century and occurs in the introduction of the lost poem of the Portuguese Alfonso Giraldes on the battle of Salado (1340). In the seventeenth century the work of Giraldes was still known to Jorge Cardoso, who in his *Agiologio lusitano* (1652) quotes these verses of it:

Outros falan da gran rason
De Bistoris gram sabedor,
E do Abbade Dom Ioon
Que venceo Rei Almançor.

In her article on Portuguese literature in Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (II, ii, 206), C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos judged that Giraldes referred to a Portuguese poem on the Abbot John, but Menéndez Pidal thinks this doubtful, and he here proceeds to point out evident signs of a Castilian (Leonese) origin and of Castilian (Leonese) inspiration in the legend.

After the rather casual mention of the Abbot by Giraldes, no trace of the legend is to be found in Portugal until at a relatively late date it is taken up by learned writers. On the other hand,

about a century after the time of Giraldes, we find evidences of a knowledge of the legend in Castile, for Diego Rodríguez de Almela in his *Compendio historial* (compiled about 1479) devotes a long chapter to an account of the victory which the Abbot John gained over Almanzor. Furthermore, with the advent of the printing press the story became the subject of a chapbook, a popular work of which editions are mentioned from 1506 on. Of the chapbook Menéndez Pidal has utilized a re-impression of Cordova, 1562. He believes that Almela's account and that of the chapbook proceed from a common prose text. This common prose source was greatly abbreviated by Almela, while in the chapbook, which comes later, it has suffered certain alterations. It was probably some popular book and not a part of an unknown chronicle anterior to that of Almela.

The outlines of the legend as gathered from Almela and the chapbook are these. The Abbot John of Montemayor, a great noble and the chief of all the abbots of Portugal, finds an abandoned child (the offspring of an incestuous union) at his church door one Christmas day. He gives the child the name of García, and rears him tenderly, sending him later to Leon to receive knighthood from King Ramiro. Back again in Montemayor, García is made Captain of the Abbot's men, but his criminal origin could only produce in him a perverted nature, as is proved by the fact that he now determines to become a renegade and enter the service of Almanzor, the Moorish king of Cordova. After notifying the latter of his purpose, he obtains leave of the Abbot to go forth and fight the infidel, and the Abbot furnishes him with men and supplies, sending with him also his nephew, Bermudo Martínez, to the end that the two young men may watch over each other's safety. In the preparations made for García's departure, Menéndez Pidal sees an imitation of those attending Mudarra's departure from Cordova in the Legend of the Infantes of Lara. Reaching Cordova, García is received by Almanzor, he renounces Christianity and is circumcised. Bermudo escapes and brings the news of the treachery to Montemayor. The renegade now accompanies Almanzor on an expedition into the Christian region; he profanes the sacred shrine of Santiago in Galicia, and with the Moorish forces finally

besieges his benefactor, the Abbot, at Montemayor. Famine presses hard upon the followers of the Abbot and they are now reduced to a last stand in the castle. As their destruction seems inevitable, the Abbot proposes to the survivors of his forces, that they kill their old men, women and children, to save them from the clutches of the followers of Mahomet, and that then they go forth and meet their deaths in conflict with the Moors. Following the example of the Abbot, who slays his own sister and her five little ones, the Christian soldiers kill their dear ones and destroy all their wealth: then they sally forth. They encounter the renegade García, who is slain by the Abbot, and they make so fierce an onslaught upon the main body of the Saracen army, that Almanzor and his men seek safety in flight. In details of the description of this flight occur elements, which Menéndez Pidal thinks due to the influence of the *Poema del Cid*. The Abbot presses hard upon the fleeing Almanzor, and succeeds in touching the latter's *aljuba* or tunic; he is not able to slay the Moor, however, and Almanzor, turning around, proclaims that the Abbot has not wounded him, but has only torn his tunic ("salvo que el aljuba le avía rota"). From this circumstance, says the legend, the place was ever after called Aljubarrota. The Christians pass the night on the mountain of Alcobaza, and the next morning they learn that all their dear ones, whom they had slain at Montemayor, have been revived by a miracle of God. The Abbot determines not to return to Montemayor, but with his share of the spoils he builds the church and monastery of Alcobaza, and there ends his life. Since his time, no one can become abbot of this monastery except a knight tried in arms.

This tradition of the founding of the monastery of Alcobaza is, as Menéndez Pidal shows, entirely devoid of historical truth. We know the circumstances of the founding of that institution to have been quite different, and, to be brief, we may say that the whole legend of the Abbot John lacks the basis of fact. Later learned Portuguese writers sought to give it one by identifying the monastery with the one founded at Ceica; but the geographical details of the legend and other reasons make this impossible. So, then, the primitive poem dealing with this story was practically a fiction

from beginning to end. The central feature of the legend, the slaying of the old men, women and children, may have been suggested by other circumstances in Spanish legend or history. For example, there are the stories of Numantia and Saguntum, and many accounts of nuns and damsels who disfigured themselves so as not to be attractive to the Moorish conquerors. Close analogues are also to be found in the legend of the Captain García Ramírez and the Virgin of Atocha, and in the famous Mediæval story of *Amis et Amile*. It is patent that the author of the poem had not far to go to get this element of his story. It is equally clear that he reached out about him into the existing Spanish *cantares de gesta*, and borrowed from them many traits and customs of the Old Spanish epic. The *Poema del Cid*, the legend of the Infantes of Lara, and the story of Fernán González were certainly put under contribution by him. The versification of the primitive poem was also that of the Spanish *cantares de gesta*, for, as Menéndez Pidal shows (pp. xxx-xxxi), traces of assonanced *laissez* are to be detected in the prosification of Almela, and especially in the printed chapbook. In short, the lost poem on the legend of the Abbot John was, in inspiration, style and versification, a *cantar de gesta*.

The supposition that the Spanish *cantar* was based on a Portuguese poem, which would then be that known to Giraldes, is shown by many arguments drawn from internal evidence to be unfounded. For, first of all, the events narrated are placed in the time of King Ramiro of Leon, i. e., before the establishment of the kingdom of Portugal. Now, any Portuguese poet would doubtless have placed the happenings in the time of a Portuguese monarch, e. g., in that of Alfonso Enriquez, the real founder of Alcobaza. Besides, the only historical elements in the story—the destruction of Santiago and the name of King Ramiro—belong to Leonese history. Everything points to a Leonese *juglar* as the author of the poem, and the allusions made by him to Portugal are of a superficial nature and not vital to the tradition.

In pages xxxvi-li of the Introduction, Menéndez Pidal discusses the various redactions of the *Compendio historial* of Almela and their diffusion, and he makes it clear that there once existed another redaction of the chapbook. The late and learned

Portuguese modifications of the legend of Abbot John are treated with fullness in the rest of the Introduction.

This brilliant and convincing study is followed by the text of two redactions of the *Compendio* of Almela and by that of the printed chapbook (*Historia del Abad Don Juan de Montemayor*) of Valladolid, 1562. A useful glossary and an index of names close the volume. In the chapbook story (page 47, ll. 11 ff.), it is stated that the Abbot John's men gave communion to each other before their sally. Here, as Menéndez Pidal points out, reference is probably made to the epic tradition of lay administration of communion by means of earth. To a discussion of this tradition, of which examples are found in several literatures (e. g., French, Spanish, Italian and Germanic), the present writer hopes soon to return.

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THE EDDA.

Eddica minora, Dichtungen eddischer Art aus den Fornaldarsögur und anderen Prosawerken, hrsg. von A. HEUSLER und W. RANISCH. *Dortmund*: 1903.

This book is a valuable contribution in the field of Icelandic literature, in that it presents in one well-arranged volume a number of poems of a similar character which have hitherto remained scattered about in various volumes. The twenty-five poems of this collection are:

- I. Das Lied von der Hunnenschlacht (*Hervararsaga*).
- II. Das Hervorlied (*Hervararsaga*).
- III. Die *Biarkamál*.
- IV. Das Innsteinlied (*Halfssaga*).
- V. *Víkarsbálkr* (*Gautreks saga*).
- VI. *Hrókslied* (*Halfssaga*).
- VII. *Hiálmars Sterbelied* (*Orvar-Oddssaga* und *Hervararsaga*).
- VIII. *Hildebrands Sterbelied* (*Ásmundarsaga*).
- IX. *Orvar-Oddr Sterbelied* (*Orvar-Oddssaga*).
- X. Das Valkyrjenlied (*Níálssaga*).

- XI. Kleinere Bruchstücke (4).
- XII. Orvar-Odds Männervergleich (*Orvar-Oddssaga*).
- XIII. Útsteins Kampfstrophen (*Hálfssaga*).
- XIV. Orvar-Oddr in Biálkaland (*Orvar-Oddssaga*).
- XV. Scheltgespräche Ketils und Grims (4).
- XVI. Asmundr auf der Hochzeit (*Asmundarsaga*).
- XVII. Hervor bei Jarl Biartmarr (*Hervararsaga*).
- XVIII. Lausavísur (9).
- XIX. Ein Danz (*Ansaga*).
- XX. Katalogstrophen (*Hervararsaga* and *Orvar-Oddssaga*).
- XXI. Die Heiðreko Gátur (*Hervararsaga*).
- XXII. Die Geizhalsstrophen (*Gautreksaga*).
- XXIII. Die Volsistrophen (*Volsapáttir* of the *Flateyjarbók*).
- XXIV. Die Buslubœn (*Bóasaga*).
- XXV. Die Tryggðamál (*Grágás*, *Grettissaga* and *Heiðarvígasaga*).

Several of these poems are printed in Vigfússon's *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*; Nos. I, II, IV, VI, VII, XIII, XVII, XXI have been accessible in Bugge's *Norrøne Skrifter af sagnhistorisk Indhold*; No. III in Wisén's *Carmina Norræna*; and No. II in Möbius' *Analecta Norræna*.

The object of the edition is explained in the preface: "Die Eddica Minora wollen die von den Eddaausgaben ausgeschlossenen, den Eddaliedern nächst verwandten altnordischen Dichtungen in zuverlässigen Texten übersichtlich darbieten."

The strophes and complete poems, interspersed throughout the prose sagas of Iceland and Norway are of two types; namely, those dealing with contemporary historical events (including the many occasional strophes of the Icelanders) in which the complicated verse and strophe technic of the skalds is used and in which the author names himself, in other words, the skaldic poetry; and on the other hand, those anonymous productions dealing with pre-historic or saga material in which the simpler verse types of old Teutonic poetry are employed. The poems of this second class resemble those of the Edda and it is chiefly these that the editors have selected for their *Eddica Minora*.

The title of the book seems well chosen and yet,

as is stated in the preface, "dem Urteil über Alter und Kunstwert des hier Vereinigten soll weder der Name 'Eddica' noch der Zusatz 'minora' vorgreifen. So viel scheint gewiss, dass diese Poesie mit den Liedern der alten isländischen Sammlung in eine Familie gehört. Auch die jüngsten Strophen stammen aus einer Zeit der die eddische Kunstübung in mündlichem Betriebe lebendig geblieben war."

In an introduction of 110 pages each of the twenty-five poems is discussed at length, full information as to MSS. is given and theories are advanced as to their relation to each other; the editors' rearrangement of the text is defended and the sagas or historical events, which the poems deal with, are touched upon. The text is provided with an "Apparat," in which the variant readings of the MSS. are given, but "nur da buchstabengetreu wo es sich um zweifelhaften Wortsinn handelt oder die Varianten aus der besonderen Schreibweise verständlich werden."

A normalized orthography has, of course, been adopted throughout.

In regard to the metrical reconstruction of the verses, the editors have maintained a conservative attitude, making it of secondary importance to the contents and style of the poem. They have not been extreme in an attempt to eliminate extra unaccented syllables, so as to make the verses conform to the theoretical types. The strophes are constructed in general on the basis of the eight short verses.

At the end of the volume is placed a short glossary, intended to be a supplement to Gering's *Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda*.

It would be impossible in a short review to discuss each of these poems, but we may mention in their chronological connection the four which deal with Arngrimr's sons and the accursed sword Tyrfing, namely, nos. VII, II, XXI and I.

Swafrlami, a descendant of Oden, stole the sword Tyrfing from the dwarfs. They not being able to recover it, pronounced a curse on all who should possess it. Arngrimr of Gautland slew Swafrlami and took Tyrfing. Arngrimr had twelve sons, all berserks and vikings, the eldest and most powerful being Angantýr. At Upsala Angantýr commands the Swedish king to give up to him his daughter, or to send out a warrior to

fight with him. Híalmar accepts the challenge, and with his companion Odds slays the twelve sons of Arngrimr on Samsey. But Híalmar is himself mortally wounded. Such is the setting for no. VII, *Híalmar's Storbeld*, a reminiscence poem, in which the dying hero recalls his past life. The poem is preserved in two forms, a longer one of twelve strophes in the *Orvar-Odds-saga*, a shorter one of eight strophes in the *Hervararsaga*. Heusler and Ranisch print both, but consider with Bugge, *Norr. Skr.*, 311, 26-30, the longer version as the original. Finnur Jónsson, *Litt. Hist.*, 2, 148, takes the opposite view and looks upon the extra strophes of the *Orvar-Odds-saga* as later interpolations. Such discussions will continue to be carried on in all cases where two versions of any literary production are preserved.

Angantýr's daughter, Hervor, born after his death, grows up without any knowledge of her father. When, as a young woman, she learns the truth about him, she arms herself like an Amazon and goes forth to do warlike deeds worthy of his name. Here the *Hervorlied* gives us a vivid picture of this dauntless maid. She goes to Samsey at night, calls her father out of the grave, and implores him to give up to her the accursed sword Tyrfinn; he is at first reluctant, knowing the fate that awaits her if she takes it, but finally yields, warning her of her doom.

Hervor bears a son Heiðrekr, who becomes famous for his wisdom in solving riddles. The '*Heiðreks Gátur*,' *Eddica Minora*, no. XXI, give us the only picture in verse we have of this descendant of Arngrimr. Heiðrekr promises freedom to his foe, Gestumblindi, on condition he shall ask riddles which the former cannot solve. Gestumblindi calls to his aid Oden, who, in the form of Gestumblindi, gives a number of riddles. Heiðrekr answers all until he finally asks: "What did Oden whisper in Baldr's ear before he was borne to the funeral pile (cf. *Vafþrúðnismál* 54). Heiðrekr strikes at Oden with his sword Tyrfinn, but the latter changes himself into a falcon and, pronouncing a curse on the king that he shall perish at the hands of his servants, disappears.

Heiðrekr left two sons, one Angantýr, named for his great-grandfather, and by a daughter of Humli, King of the Huns, an illegitimate son,

Hloðr. Of the war between these two brothers and the curse that Tyrfinn continued to work, the fragmentary poem in the *Hervararsaga*, 'Das Lied von der Hunnenschlacht,' *Edd. Min.* I, tells us. Upon the death of Heiðrekr, Angantýr takes the heritage of his father and becomes king. Hloðr comes from the land of the Huns to claim his share. Angantýr will not acknowledge him nor 'divide in two Tyrfinn,' the symbol of power; but he offers Hloðr rich gifts, which the latter spurns. A great battle is fought at Dünheiðr between Goths and Huns; Hloðr is killed by the sword Tyrfinn. While he is lying in the field mortally wounded, Angantýr comes up and speaks to him: "I offered thee, brother, limitless possessions, property and many treasures as was befitting thee; now thou hast neither the shining rings nor the land. A curse is upon us, brother; I have become thy slayer; that will ever be known; evil is the fate of the norms." With these words the fragment ends. They may very well have constituted the closing strophe of the original complete poem.

The poems of the *Eddica Minora* are arranged 'nach den Eigenschaften der poetischen Gattung.' It seems that a chronological order might have recommended itself in the poems of the Arngrimr and Half's cycles; or at least in the case of the *Hervorlied* and the *Hunnenschlacht*, since both are 'Ereignislieder.'

We hope with the editors that this volume will take its place by the side of the editions of the *Edda*.

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FRENCH HISTORICAL GRAMMAR.

Grammaire historique de la langue française. Par KR. NYROP, Professeur à l'Université de Copenhague. Tome deuxième. Copenhague: det Nordiske Forlag. Leipzig: Harrassowitz. New York: G. E. Stechert. Paris: A. Picard & Fils. 1903. 8vo., pp. viii, 453. (Price: ten francs per volume).

The high praise accorded to the first volume of

this series¹ is in no less degree merited by the second. Professor Nyrop has shown in its preparation a still surer hand and has introduced at the same time any improvements suggested by the reviews of the earlier book. His remarkable command of all periods of the French language, his orderly accuracy of mind and his clearness and simplicity of expression make him a master in the preparation of handbooks. The *Grammaire historique* should be in the hands of every student of the history of French. It is not only a valuable reference book, but it is so full of interest and suggestiveness that to read it continuously is a pleasure and not a task.

The four years which elapsed between the first and the second volume cannot be considered too long for the preparation of the Morphology, but it is permissible to hope that eight years are not still to pass before, with the four volumes of the grammar and the author's *Manuel phonétique du français parlé*,² we shall have a comprehensive historical view of the French language in a group of easily accessible books.

The first volume of the series having embraced the phonology, the second naturally takes up morphology. In its five books are discussed verbs (accent, stem, endings, conjugation), substantives (declension, number, gender, comparison), numerals, articles, and pronouns. The detailed bibliography and indexes which add so much to the value of the first volume are imitated in the second. The former arbitrary system of abbreviations has wisely been abandoned in favor of that of the *Kritischer Jahresbericht*, and the phonetic alphabet of the International Phonetic Association has replaced the previous eclectic set of symbols.

In spite of the 'but surtout pédagogique' of the grammar, which leads Professor Nyrop to include in the treatment of morphology, 'quel-

ques remarques qui regardent surtout la syntaxe,' we may doubt the wisdom of giving in volume II the large amount of syntactical material which will serve, when the series is complete, only to increase the bulkiness of the volume. This is especially true of the chapters on comparison and on the partitive article. He altogether excludes, however, from his treatment of gender the substantives which in French have changed from masculine to feminine or vice versa.

A more general summary of the plan of the work may be omitted, as much would be a repetition of what has been said in reviewing the first volume. I add a few comments of details.

§ 5. The French imperative has no temporal distinctions. *Ayez abandonné la ville quand l'ennemi y entrera* (Maetzner, *Gram.*³, p. 374) is not a perfect subjunctive. Cf. Tobler, *V. B.*, vol. I², p. 156, Anm.

§ 11, 3. The form of this statement is not satisfactory, as it would lead to a belief that in the indicative and subjunctive present the disappearance of proparoxytone forms in simple verbs is due in all cases to analogy, when of course in most cases it is because of phonetic changes. It is also to be noted in connection with the examples given in this paragraph that only certain learned verbs show an analogical present after just the model of *estudie*, etc.

§ 57, 2. The termination *-oiz* occurs also in Champagne texts.

§ 119. The 3 plural of *choir* must have originally been not *chient* but *chieent*; an accent (*chië*) would render the 1 singular more easily understood.

§ 153, 1. In *voici, voilà*, as is shown by the Old-French forms, we probably have not imperatives but indicatives, the whole originally forming a question. See Tobler, *ASNS*, vol. 94, p. 462.

§ 154, 1. *Lais* should not be included in the list of shortened forms peculiar to the imperative, since by the side of *laisier* we have a shorter verb with the same meaning and used in other forms as well as in the imperative.

§ 171. The omission of the first person *vendi* in the paradigm and in the remark below it is probably accidental.

The phraseology of § 315 might create the impression that *vieux*, singular, was a formation on the plural.

¹ Cf. *BBPMB*, 1899, 253-255 (Lepitre); *Museum*, 1899, 232 ff. (Salverda de Grave); *Rom.*, 1899, 477 (Paris); *NTSF*, 1899, 112-116 (Staaff); *MLN*, 1900, 52-58 (Armstrong); *LBiGRPh*, 1900, 65-68 (Herzog); *ASNS*, 1900, 451-454 (Risop); *LCBl*, 1900, 118-119 (Schultz-Gora); *DLZ*, 1901, 2460-2461 (Cloëtta); *RCr*, 1901, 51-54 (Jeanroy); *MA*, 1903, 215-217 (Rousselle); *JBRPh*, VI, 1, 211-212 (Rydberg).

² Deuxième édition, traduite et remaniée par E. Philipot. Copenhagen, Leipzig, Paris. 1902. (Price four francs).

§ 431. Why limit *malart* to the *Haguais*, when in a restricted meaning it is still French?

§ 433. *Femelle* used as an adjective should not be classed with *enceinte*, *scarlatine* as having no masculine. The gender of an adjective is not concerned with sex but only with grammatical agreement.

§ 446. A short vowel of the masculine form of the adjective is lengthened in the feminine not only before [z] but also when from free nasal it passes to checked nasal (*grand-grande*), and, according to the usual view, before [v] (*brève, vive*). Nyrop, § 447, 3, gives the vowel of *vive* as short, but in his *Manuel phonétique*, § 119, 4, he recognizes as long the vowels of *pensive, juive, sauve*.

§ 465. The example from George Sand, where only two persons are compared and where the word-order is independent of the comparative form (cf. *il a la voix haute*), should not be cited as a persistence of the construction represented by *chargeant de mes débris les reliques plus chères*.

§ 476. Of the four examples given for Old-French of *plus* qualifying a substantive three are in the expression *plus prodome*, where a feeling of the original adjectival nature of *pro* probably remains. In the fourth, *Yvains est plus sire*, *plus* might be considered as joined to *est* rather than to *sire*. It is true there is no intrinsic difficulty in joining *plus* to substantives when, as in the case cited, they are without the article and have in reality an adjectival quality. Compare the passage from Ph. Mousket cited by Godefroy, *Comp.*, s. v. *seigneur*: *Ceste miracle [et] plus gaignors Fist li sire des plus signors*.

§ 481, 2. By the side of *dui a dui* should be mentioned *dui et dui*.

§ 483, 1, and § 484. There is the omission, common to other treatises discussing *vingt* and *cent*, of an express statement about the existence of a full declension in Old-French embracing the singular as well as the plural. Compare: *Pur vint solz, ceo dist, le durra, Marie, Fables*, LXVII, 5; *Chevaliers meine plus de cent (: richement)*, *Guigemar*, 754; *Et bien xii vint chevaler . . . s'assisent*, *Perceval*, III, 15880; *L'an de grasse mil et III. C. (:sens)*, *Jean de Condé*, I, 296, 186; *Mielz en valt l'ors que ne funt cinc cens livres*, *Rol.* 516.

§ 490, rem. In speaking of the *Quinze-vingts* it might have been well to cite the early mention

of this order by Rustebuef (*Ordres de Paris*, II, 85-96).

§ 523, 4. 'Vulgaire' is a strong term to apply to the pronunciation *i vient for il vient*.

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FRENCH DIALECTS.

Glossaire du parler de Pléchâtel (canton de Bain, Ille-et-Vilaine), par G. DOTTIN et J. LANGOUËT. Rennes-Paris, 1901. Pp. clx + 216.

The district studied in this *Glossaire* includes the departments of Ille-et-Vilaine, Loire-Inférieure, and those portions of Côtes-du-Nord and Morbihan lying east of a line drawn from Étables to the mouth of the Vilaine river, and bending slightly to the west in its course.

The *Glossaire*, as explained in the Préface, contains almost all the words used at Pléchâtel which do not coincide exactly with the corresponding French words. These include, in addition to ordinary words, the names of places, persons, and domestic animals. An extensive Introduction by M. Dottin, contains a general study of the grammar of the dialects of Haute-Bretagne and of the grammar of the dialect of Pléchâtel. Appended to the study of the linguistic material is a chapter, by M. Langouët, on "Usages et Traditions" of the commune dealing with such subjects, among others, as geography, marriage and religious customs and superstitions, games, weights, and measures. A song and two tales are given in phonetic transcription. An excellent and, apparently, complete Index of words and place-names is given. The whole is concluded by the addition of two maps, one of Haute-Bretagne, the other of the commune of Pléchâtel.

The first part of the introduction is devoted to a discussion of the phonology and morphology of the various dialects of Haute-Bretagne studied from a number of unedited manuscripts and from a few printed works noted in the bibliography.

The dialects of Haute-Bretagne are closely related to the neighboring ones of Bas-Maine. Their evolution singularly resembles that of French, the

influence of which they felt early, and from which they have borrowed terms and forms at different periods. If we except the southern part of Loire-Inférieure, where characteristics peculiar to the dialects of Poitou are found, the sub-dialects of Haute-Bretagne show real unity. The principal phonetic traits are common to a great number of dialects, and spread almost equally over all parts of the territory studied. Within each sub-dialect, however, an astonishing diversity is noticed, resulting from the evolution proper to Haute-Bretagne, from borrowings from French, and from the adjustment of these borrowings to the local phonetic system.

The interest in the sub-dialects themselves is rather limited; however, there are a few interesting evolutions, for example, the change of $\acute{e} < \text{ton}$. A into ei , the development of palatalization, of nasalization, and the formation of plurals. It would be interesting to know whether, in regions where the forms of place-names indicate former Breton settlements, the evolution of the dialect was not different from that in French territory, and whether the Breton phonetic system did not have some influence on the local Romance dialects. M. Dottin raises the question as to whether we know enough about the French language before the tenth century to be able to make a comparison between it and the Breton, and whether the mutual influences of these two dialects have not destroyed all vestiges of the original differences. But he proposes no solution.

In his treatment of the dialects of Haute-Bretagne M. Dottin's endeavor has been to point out the relations, whenever existing, between the dialects of Haute-Bretagne, on the one side, and the documents studied by Görlich¹ and the French pronunciation since the beginning of the sixteenth century, on the other.

The phonetic transcription (pp. x-xi) shows that the phonetic system of Pléchéat contains the oral and nasal vowels included in the French system. In addition to these are nasals corresponding to the French close e , o , eu and \ddot{u} . The open vowels are pronounced without muscular tension and with less convexity of the tongue than are the correspond-

ing French vowels. There are, however, a few instances of e and o corresponding exactly to the French open pronunciation of those vowels. It is noticeable that mute e plays a larger part than in French.

The following traits are of interest:

Palatals. Vowels under the influence of palatal consonants often become diphthongs which are better preserved than in French. $\text{Ai} < a + i$ remains in some instances as a diphthong. The diphthong ai is especially well retained in the termination -aige up to the thirteenth century, and is present to-day also in such words as $\text{kai}\ddot{z}$ (*cage*), $\text{sa}\ddot{z}$ (*sache*), etc. Ai also suffers reduction in the modern dialect to a , ei to e , oi to o . $\text{Aqua} > \text{eve}$, eeve , $\text{e}\ddot{v}\text{e}$ in the charters, and eo in the modern dialect. Palatal plus A is generally the same as in French, but after the thirteenth century the tendency is to reduce ie to e . $\text{-ARIUM} > \text{i}\ddot{a}$, $\text{ARIAM} > \text{i}\ddot{a}r$. The charters of the thirteenth century occasionally have -er , which is found to-day in the southern portion of Loire-Inférieure. -ICLUM , $\text{-ILUM} >$ not only $\text{e}\ddot{l}$, $\text{e}\ddot{i}$, but also $\text{a}\ddot{l}$, $\text{a}\ddot{i}$; and $\text{a}\ddot{i}$, $\text{e}\ddot{i}$, $\text{a}\ddot{e}$, $\text{o}\ddot{i}$ may be reduced to a , e , o . É plus a palatal has not the same development as in French. Charters of the thirteenth century have ei , ee , e . In the modern dialect the diphthong is reduced to e , e , ə . Ö plus a palatal is diphthongized in the charters, the modern dialects have e , e , ə . Ü plus a palatal becomes \ddot{u} through the falling diphthong ui .

Nasals. Nasalization has left more traces in the dialects of Haute-Bretagne than in modern French, but the evolution of nasal vowels seems, as a rule, to have been the same. The final nasal $\text{an} > \text{ān}'$, $\text{ā}\ddot{u}$, en' , $\text{ē}\ddot{u}$, or the vowel is denasalized; $\text{ən}'$, and ē are found in the thirteenth century, but ā is the usual form in the dialect. ĒN shows a similar development, but ĒN has almost always become ē . $\text{Ō} > \text{ā}$ only in the word *on* in Haute-Bretagne, but south of Loire-Inférieure ō always becomes ā . *In* is pronounced without nasalization of the vowel in some parts of the territory, elsewhere as in French. Checked AN , which was probably long, has broken into two parts, one or both of which may be nasalized $\text{ā}\ddot{o}$, $\text{ē}\ddot{o}$, $\text{a}\ddot{ā}$, $\text{ē}\ddot{u}$. Free vowels before a nasal have not lost the nasal quality as in French.

The second part deals exclusively with the

¹ Die Nordwestlichen Dialekte der langue d'oïl. Bretagne, Anjou, Maine, Touraine. Fr. St. v, 25-428.

dialect of Pléchâtel, situated about twenty-five kilometers south of Rennes. The earliest mention of the place is made in 875, when the name appears as *plebis Castel*; in 1052 it is written *Ploucastellum*, and in 1086 *Ploicastel*. The dialect spoken at Pléchâtel is a good specimen of that of Haute-Bretagne. The phonology at first offers great confusion. French has not only enriched the vocabulary, but has influenced the forms of words greatly, and the laws of phonetics, which ceased to operate centuries ago in French, are operating now in the dialect through the influence of French. Analogy works with great precision, and there are few cases of false analogy. The tonic accent is not very different from French, but it is to be noticed that in polysyllables the accent has a tendency to shift to the penult.

An and *en* are generally distinct, mute *e* is the most frequently occurring vowel, and comes from the weakening of various vowels as, for example, of free *a*, *e*, or *o*, before a palatal, of *ei* (French), *ai* (French), all in tonic position, and from various vowels in atonic position. Parasitic *e* is common, but mute *e* falls when its fall would not leave three or more consonants in contact. *I* is found for initial *a*. *Ki* regularly takes the place of *k* before *i*, *e*, *æ*, *u*, and their nasals. The plural is formed by making the final vowel long, close or a diphthong, but many nouns have the same form for singular and plural. A few Breton place-names occur. The subjunctive is obsolescent, the present indicative taking the place of the present subjunctive, and the past definite of the imperfect subjunctive.

The subject-matter is printed clearly, and the arrangement is such as to make reference easy. It would have been well if the author had devoted a special paragraph to diphthongization instead of allowing such matter to remain scattered through the book. As one reads, the impression is received that the development and reduction of diphthongs proceed very indiscriminately. Syntax receives no attention. An interesting addition to the chapter "Usages et Traditions" would be a statement regarding the folk-lore; whether there is any popular literature, its nature, and by what means it is being preserved. Beginning on page xvii Thurot is mentioned several times without the title of his work being given. *U* (*ou*) and *ü*

are not distinguished in phonetic transcription (p. x, 4).

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CORRESPONDENCE.

EXPURGATION FOR TEXT-BOOKS.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Professor Fitz-Gerald, in the last number of *MOD. LANG. NOTES*, has taken advantage of the publication of an edition of Galdos' *Electra* to point out, though with extreme reserve, the dangers of expurgation. Most decidedly we treat the masterpieces too freely, and a word of protest from time to time may do some good.

Not to speak of the numerous cases when an annotator seems entirely unable to distinguish between passages which can be left out without considerably harming the original text, and others where it is utterly impossible without robbing a novel, a drama, or a poem, of its very sense, one is sure in taking up some text-book and comparing it with the original to make startling discoveries. Some teachers, and I am sorry to say, even some College professors, take really shocking liberties. To avoid the appearance of being personal, no examples need be given here; but what has been done, for instance, with Daudet, Hugo, or many others, is outrageous and well calculated to arouse the indignation of any one who has even a faint trace of a literary conscience.

Is it not time to form a league against this new sort of a *bande noire*, not less harmful than the one so vigorously stigmatized about a century ago by Nodier and by Victor Hugo? Or, at least, could we not lay down and try to enforce a few rules regarding a practice as criminal in the realm of letters, as theft or forgery is in social life?

I suggest the following:

1). Under no circumstances whatsoever should one alter an original text if there is no reason for it.

2). Under no circumstances whatsoever should one take the trouble to improve an original text. It seems only just that Hugo or Daudet, Goethe or Keller, Dante or D'Annunzio, Lope de Vega or Galdos, should carry the responsibility, if they

do not know their own native language as well as their foreign annotators.

3). Under no circumstances whatsoever where a passage is not understood as it stands, should one try to render it clear by substituting for the original, words of one's own making.

4). By no means should one think it a duty, if one deem it necessary to publish a book in abbreviated form, to take out all the essential passages and leave only those that are practically of secondary value.

5). Under no circumstance whatsoever ought one to publish a text-book for which one is obliged, in order to make it suitable for the class-room, to take out the very passages of the original that give sense to the work.¹

6). It would be proper, and at the same time very useful for occasional reference, to point out in a little "postscript" to the Introduction, or in the Notes, the passages in which the original text has been either abbreviated or altered.

I add a rule for the notes of a text-book.

7). One should not take endless trouble to explain what everybody understands, but occasionally elucidate an allusion or a passage that, according to all probabilities, will be obscure to the average reader.

Yours very truly,

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THE COMPASS FIGURE AGAIN.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Apropos of the article on "Donne's Compasses and Wither's Compass" by Professor

¹There are more of this class of books than might at first sight be suspected, and some of them are very important. I would give as characteristic illustrations *Atala* and *René* by Chateaubriand. In each one of these, there is probably not more than one passage that one might think of removing, but it so happens that if one actually takes it out there remains only something that might be compared to a watch without a spring. Of course, there remains the magic style, but when a student has got to the point of appreciating that part of a book, he will generally be old enough to see no objection to the passages that otherwise it would seem wise to omit. In ancient literature, see, for instance, Horace, *Satires*, I, 8, or II, 3.

H. M. Belden in *M. L. N.*, XIX, 76-78, Professor W. P. Trent has called my attention to the fact that this figure occurs in a poem by Mrs. Katherine Philips (1631-1664), entitled *Friendship in Embleme, or the Seal. To my dearest Lucasia*¹ [Anne Owen]. Apparently the author had before her a seal bearing two flaming hearts partly joined together, with compasses above, and the word 'Friendship.' As this was in the height of the popularity of emblem books—both Quarles's and Wither's emblem books were published in 1635—it seems probable that the device here figuring on a seal could be found in some of the emblem books. A hasty examination of a few has failed, however, to reveal such an original. Marshall's original drawings for Quarles's *Emblems* have not been accessible. A further search would, I think, yield something.

I quote the most significant part of Mrs. Philips' poem:

6. The Compasses that stand above,
Express this great immortal Love;
For Friends, like them, can prove this true,
They are, and yet they are not, two.
7. And in their posture is exprest
Friendship's exalted Interest:
Each follows where the other leans,
And what each does, this other means.
8. And as when one foot does stand fast,
And t'other circles seeks to cast,
The steady part does regulate
And make the wand'rer's motion straight:
9. So friends are only two in this,
T' reclaim each other when they miss: . . .

The poem is carried through sixteen similar stanzas. It is an evident appropriation of Donne's *Valediction forbidding Mourning*, even to the stanza.

Yours very truly,

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¹Poems by the most deservedly admired Mrs. Katherine Philips, *The Matchless Orinda* . . . London . . . 1678, pp. 36-39. The first edition of Mrs. Philips's work appeared surreptitiously in the year of her death; the first authorized issue was in 1667.

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